DOCUMENT RESUME

ED 249 741 EC 170 853

AUTHOR	Soder, Marten
TITLE	Transition from School to Work for Handicapped Adolescents: Swedish Position Report to the OECD/CERI Project concerning the Education of Handicapped Adolescents--Innovative Approaches in the Transition to Adult and Working Life.
INSTITUTION	National Swedish Board of Education, Stockholm.
REPORT NO	ISBN-91-7662-060-3
PUB DATE	84
NOTE	144p.
AVAILABLE FROM	National Board of Education, Department for Coordination and Planning, Information and Documentation Section, S-10642 Stockholm, Sweden (free).
PUB TYPE	Guides - Non-Classroom Use (055) -- Reports - Descriptive (141)
EDRS PRICE	MF01/PC06 Plus Postage.
DESCRIPTORS	Curriculum Development; *Disabilities; *Education Work Relationship; *Employment; Foreign Countries; Program Development; Secondary Education; *Transitional Programs; *Vocational Education
IDENTIFIERS	*Sweden

ABSTRACT

The report describes the Swedish educational and employment system and efforts underway to facilitate the transition from school to work for handicapped adolescents. A review of the general education system touches upon administrative structure, finance, and trends in compulsory comprehensive school and in upper secondary schools. The next section discusses factors in the labor market and examines labor policy regarding handicapped persons. Transitional arrangements undertaken in recent years are noted, and curriculum adaptations and policy changes to facilitate the movement of handicapped students from school to work are considered. Among problems with the transition are the insufficiency of "ordinary" measures as well as the problems inherent in the need for coordination. Three innovative approaches--use of escorts, group dynamic method, and computerized job procurement--are described. (CL)

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TRANSITION FROM SCHOOL TO WORK FOR HANDICAPPED ADOLESCENTS

Swedish position report to the OECD/CERI project concerning the Education of the handicapped adolescents – Innovative approaches in the transition to Adult and Working Life.

Mårten Söder

The Centre for Working Life

ED170853

Copies of this report
are available from
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Department for Coordination and Planning,
Information and Documentation Section,
S-106 42 Stockholm, Sweden
Telephone: 08-14 06 60

ISBN 91-7662-060-3
Dnr 0134-84: 362
Norstedts Tryckeri
Stockholm 1984

NATIONAL BOARD OF EDUCATION

Sweden is participating in the first phase of the OECD/CERI Project The Education of the Handicapped Adolescent: Adult Status for Disabled Youth.

Within this context the National Board of Education entiusted to Dr Mårten Söder, The Center for Working Life in Stockholm, to write a report in which Swedish educational and employment system is described and the means taken to facilitate the transition from school to work for handicapped adolescents.

The report has been delivered to the OECD/CERI Governing Board at its meeting in June 1984.

NBE has welcomed this opportunity to present a comprehensive report on the difficulties that handicapped youth encounter when they leave school and the needs they have to ease the transition to working life. The report also describes some innovative practices which hopefully can be of a more general interest.

Stockholm June 1984

Lennart Orehag
Director General

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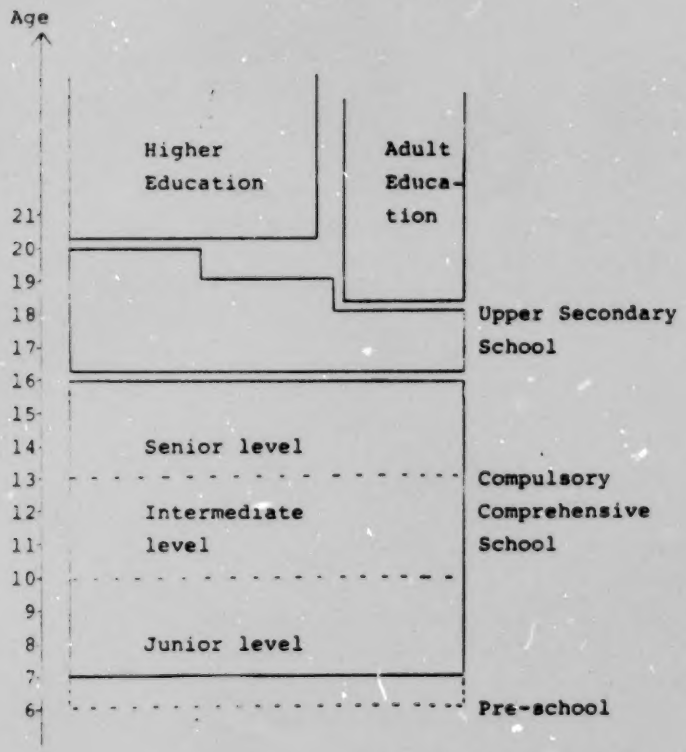
EDUCATION

The general system

About 98% of all education for children and adolescents between 7 and 19 years is publicly organised. The general features of the educational system are outlined in figure 1.

Figure 1: General features of the Educational System



Pre-school education, for children under 7 years of age, is not mandatory. The municipalities, however, are obliged by law to make such education available for all six-year-olds.

The compulsory comprehensive school is attended by all children aged 7-16. It is divided into three levels: junior (grades 1-3), intermediate (grades 4-7) and senior (grades 7-9). This schooling is not differentiated; all children take the same courses and streaming is not allowed. There is one exception. At senior level, alternative courses in maths and English are offered and there is a choice of one out of four extra courses (art, technology, economy and a second foreign language).

The upper secondary school in its present form is the result of a fusion of earlier forms that were sharply divided into a practical, vocationally oriented school and a theoretical one. Since 1970 upper secondary school has constituted an integrated system with 25 different lines of study and shorter specialised courses. Upper secondary school is not compulsory, but is attended by about 85% of all young persons.

Higher education is given at universities. These are divided into five different sectors.

There are other forms of adult education. Adult education for those who have had a short basic education which they want to augment is provided in the form of municipal adult education (KOMVUX). People who risk unemployment turn to the employment office and are more than 20 years old can undergo labour market training (AMU). AMU is basically a labour market policy device, its main goal being to regulate the supply of labour in different phases of the trade

cycle. The folk high schools represent a third form of adult education. These are State-sponsored schools run by county councils, sponsoring societies or popular movements. They give courses of varying length, some of which are specially adapted for persons with disabilities.

Administrative structure

The compulsory comprehensive school and the upper secondary schools are run by the municipalities, but they are regulated and financed by the State.

This division, and inherent tension, between central and local level can be seen as the result of two conflicting ambitions. The first ambition is to ensure equal opportunity standards in all parts of the country. This, of course, calls for central co-ordination and control. The second ambition is to allow for extensive local influence in the school sector. The administrative structure reflects both these aims.

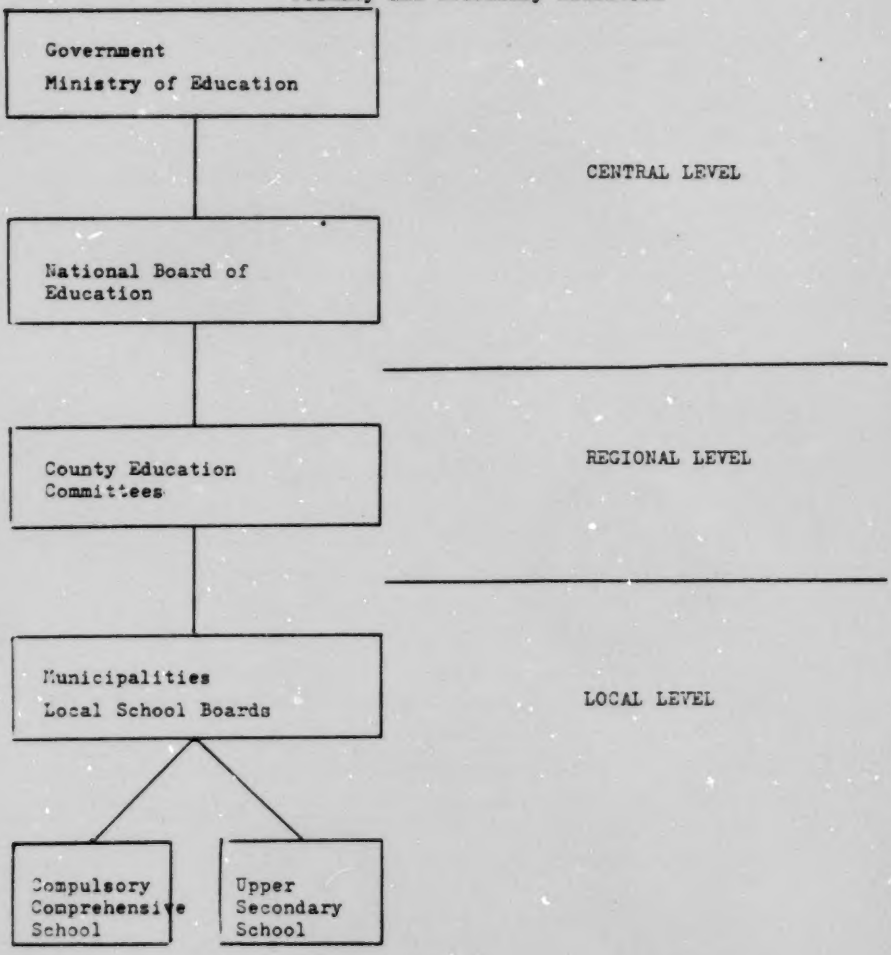
Both at central and at local level there is a strong political influence. At central level, the Riksdag (parliament) decides on the overall external structure and the general content of education. The educational goals and principles of educational content and organisation are laid down in a general curriculum, passed by the Riksdag. The Education Act and related legislation also emanate from this level.

At local level, political influence is exerted according to the principle of representative democracy in the municipalities. A municipal (local) education authority, composed of locally elected politicians, is responsible for the running of schools in the area, i.e. local educational

planning, school meals, school transport and the content of education, within the limits set by central regulations.

This dual political influence (at two levels) deserves to be borne in mind when the administrative structure is presented as in figure 2. That figure gives the impression of an extremely hierarchical system, but this can be misleading. Political inputs in the system are not confined to the top.

Figure 2: General Features of Administrative Structure for Primary and Secondary Education



At central level the Ministry of Education is part of the Government Chancery and deals with such general policy questions as the preparation of reforms and changes, applications for grants and so on. Administrative questions are dealt with at the National Board of Education (NBE), which co-ordinates administration at local level, co-ordinates and initiates research and development, and deals with questions such as the number of classes and teachers. In recent years its role as a consultative agency for lower levels, concerned more with support and development than with administrative regulation, has been underlined by organisational reforms.

At regional level, the central administration is represented by county education committees. These are lay panels with a small secretariat of school inspectors. They have both an administrative and a supervisory/ consultative function. They are required to inspect schools, promote in-service teacher training, and exercise control over the use of State grants. In recent years there has been a shift of emphasis, parallelling the change described above for the National Board of Education, from supervisory administrative functions to advisory and supportive ones.

At local level responsibility is vested in the municipal (local) education authority (LEA), composed of local politicians. They constitute, as mentioned above, the political channel for local political opinion. At the same time they are an administrative level in the administrative structure. In some questions, unregulated by the State, they are free to make decisions according to local judgements. In other questions they have to implement policy decisions taken at higher levels. They have to provide school premises and ensure that school activities comply with current regulations. Some LEA responsibilities are delegated to school managements (headteachers).

Finance

All public education is free of charge. The costs are divided between the State and local authorities (municipalities).

The State principally provides grants to cover costs relating to teaching, most notably salaries for teachers (although teachers are formally employed by the LEAs) and supportive measures. In upper secondary schools, the State also contributes towards equipment for expensive vocational departments and helps to cover the cost of school buildings.

The local authorities foot the bill for all non-teaching costs. Their budget is financed out of general income tax.

Roughly speaking, State and local authorities each pay about half the total cost of public education.

As a result of current decentralisation policy, a new way of distributing State grants has been introduced. Numerous State grants used to be earmarked for special purposes. Today State grants are divided into two parts: basic resources, related to the number of pupils and covering teachers' salaries, and a special resource to be used according to local priorities and needs.

Comprehensive compulsory school

The comprehensive compulsory school is regulated by an Education Act passed in 1962. The goals are set out in the first Section of the Act: "The purpose of the instruction which society provides for children and young persons is to equip the pupils with knowledge, to develop their skills and in co-operation with their homes to promote their

development into happy individuals and into competent and responsible members of the community."

The goals are not of a specific and quantifiable nature. Rather they can be seen as guidelines. They state what schools are to promote rather than what they must achieve.

This is also true of the more concrete goals in the general curriculum. The present curriculum (Lgr 80) was generally implemented in 1982. It lays down the general framework within which all schools are supposed to work: subjects, time schedules and syllabuses. To supplement the general curriculum, more detailed commentaries on special questions are issued continuously.

Legislation and the curriculum are decided on by the Riksdag. The aim is for the general goals and framework to guarantee equivalent educational standards throughout the country.

Trends and changes

In the early 1970s a Government Commission on the problems of comprehensive compulsory schools (the SIA Commission on the Internal Work of Schools) conducted many broad surveys and evaluations of the state of schools. Trends and reforms over the last 10 years have been modelled on the ideas put forward by this Commission.

Two main themes in the philosophy of the Commission are now being implemented: a change from management by command to management by objectives, and decentralisation.

The reforms of the fifties and sixties were aimed at abolishing a parallel school system in favour of a more democratic comprehensive school. The motives for these changes

were political, comprising such goals as "equality of opportunity" and "a school for everyone". The reforms were initiated at the central level and their implementation demanded a rather centralised structure, with Government and Riksdag formulating concrete rules. This system of management by command was questioned by the SIA Commission, which pointed to the need for local internal reforms. This in turn, according to the Commission, called for a general structure permitting dynamic changes to the "inner life" of schools. The central regulations could often impede such changes. The aim today is therefore to abolish as many detailed regulations as possible and to use goals as the steering device. Instead of regulating the work of schools by prescriptions, the steering should be achieved by formulating goals. This is the general idea underlying the new curriculum (Lgr 80), which has been in force since last year. The curriculum sets out the general goals of education. The idea is for each school in the country to work out a plan for the achievement of those goals.

This change of steering device is closely linked to the second trend: decentralisation. This has been most obvious in a change of the system for delivering State grants to municipalities. A host of previously earmarked resources, designed for special, centrally determined purposes, have been abolished in favour of a system whereby grants are placed at the free disposal of municipalities. But the goal which the municipalities are expected to strive for in using their free resources, is clearly stated, viz satisfaction of the needs of pupils requiring special support.

Evaluative research has shown that this goal has not really been achieved. Many municipalities and school management districts evidently prefer to use the free resources for general reforms, such as a reduction in the number of

pupils per class, rather than for measures directly aimed at supporting pupils with special needs.

Special education

One of the reasons for looking into the "inner life" of schools in the seventies and for the present changes towards more flexibility and decentralisation was the fact that special education - not least in the form of remedial classes - developed so rapidly in the sixties and seventies. Much of the discussion at that time was in terms of different organisational arrangements for special education: remedial class, clinic teaching, team teaching. The philosphy of the SIA Commission was aimed at rehabilitating special education as a qualitative measure to be integrated as closely as possible with ordinary teaching in schools.

Under the earlier system, special measures for an individual pupil started with a diagnosis. The diagnosis was geared to a special amount of resources, often provided as an earmarked extra resource from the State. Under the present system of decentralised resource allocation, the aim is to obtain a better fit with the pupil's actual needs and to avoid diagnostic labels that emphasise the shortcomings of the individual concerned.

The new curriculum establishes a new philosphy of special education which can be said to rest on three cornerstones: handicap seen as a relation, a holistic view of the pupil with special needs, and the principle of integration.

The realisation of handicap being a relationship means that the difficulties of an individual pupil are viewed as emanating from many different sources. It is especially underlined that the school environment (organisation,

methods, attitudes) plays a central role in the transformation of individual characteristics into handicaps.

In the holistic perspective, diagnoses are abolished as they underline shortcomings of the pupil. In the curriculum the general approach is said to be one where every pupil is seen as potentially able and creative. The school is responsible for creating environments where this potentiality can develop. The school environment should in itself be oriented towards the development of each child's inherent possibilities.

One corollary of this is the principle of integration, which constitutes the third cornerstone in the special education ideology. Problems should be dealt with where they arise: within the working unit itself. Organisation and resource allocation should be sufficiently flexible to provide the support needed within the working unit (working unit is the term used for two or three classes working together with flexible methods). The problems of pupils should be continuously discussed within the working unit staff, including pupil welfare personnel such as the school nurse, the school social worker, the school psychologist and the SYO (educational and vocational orientation) officer.

The new curriculum specially underlines the importance of welfare staff continuously taking part in discussions of teaching, the aim being to prevent problems from arising.

But of course, all problems cannot be solved by this type of preventive action. The pupil welfare conference also has to allocate resources and take measures to solve problems. The starting point for this work should be the needs of the actual child, the essential task being to strengthen his self-image by indentifying his capabilities.

The curriculum recognises the need for separate teaching groups (remedial classes), while stressing that the needs of the child should, as far as possible, be dealt with within the ordinary context of classes and working units. Special teaching groups may be formed for teaching pupils with significant disabilities, pronounced social and emotional disturbances or other pronounced school difficulties.

The remedial teaching group can be organised for a shorter or longer period of time. It can be arranged for one or several subjects. Pupils for these groups are selected by the pupil welfare conference and in consultation with the pupil and his parents.

Another possibility for pupils with difficulties is to arrange adjusted courses of studies. The pupil is given a special plan where the subjects prescribed in the curriculum are modified to help him cope with his problem. Sometimes this is done so that the pupil can be temporarily referred to a workplace outside school for work experience.

In some municipalities there is also the alternative of the pupil attending a special day school. This measure is used for children that are judged to need a more extensive and continuous social contact with adults. They are taught in small groups and their leisure time is jointly organised by the school and the social welfare authority. The family is often mobilised to help deal with the child's problem.

Pupils with disabilities

Many pupils with disabilities ("handicapped" in the traditional sense of the word) used to receive their education in special schools. During the past decade, disabled pupils have to a growing extent been integrated (physically

and organisationally) with ordinary schools. Their needs are provided for within the system of special education described above. This support is often assisted by regional advisers specialising in particular disabilities.

The trend towards integration, however, has not been unequivocal, and the practical import of integration has varied between different categories of disability, depending not least on historical background and traditions within different sectors. For the blind and visually handicapped and for the orthopedically handicapped, integration has had the effect of emptying special schools and most pupils with such disabilities nowadays attend ordinary schools and ordinary classes. For the deaf and hard of hearing, however, no such development has taken place. This is largely due to the nature of the communicative handicap resulting from such impairments, a handicap which, according to the dominant ideology in the field, can only be handled if children first get to develop communicative skills within the group by means of sign language.

For the mentally retarded there is a special school system, with its own organisation, staff and mandator. For this group integration has meant that classes of retarded children have been physically integrated into ordinary school premises.

The blind and visually handicapped

A few decades ago most children with severely impaired vision received their education at a special school: Tomteboda, in Stockholm. Today there are only about 25 pupils attending Tomteboda. Most visually impaired children attend ordinary schools in their neighbourhood. According to a survey in 1979/1980, visually handicapped pupils attending comprehensive compulsory school number a

little more than 1,000, about 1 o/oo of the school population. Only a minority of them (110) attended remedial teaching groups. Such groups exclusively for the visually handicapped are, moreover, very rare. Most of the pupils in special teaching groups belonged to mixed disability groups.

Apart from Tomteboda there is also another school which recruits pupils from all over the country. This school is for children whose impaired vision is combined with other disabilities. It now has approximately 50 pupils.

Visually impaired children in ordinary schools receive support from special advisers/teachers working at regional level. Today there are 23 pre-school teachers and 28 peripatetic teachers working as regional consultants. They are employed by the special schools, which are now being transformed into resource centres for the accumulation of knowledge, development centres and centres providing special courses for children, parents and ordinary teachers.

Orthopedically handicapped children

The special schools for orthopedically impaired children were abolished in the fifties and sixties. Today all orthopedically disabled children attend ordinary schools run by municipalities. The individual schools receive support and advice from regional consultants. There are 9 regions, staffed by 9 consultants who register the pupils, support schools in planning for each child, co-ordinate activities and keep schools informed on practical/technical and medical questions.

Today there are approximately 2,700 pupils registered with orthopedic disabilities. About 90% of them attend regular classes and 10% are in remedial teaching groups.

Deaf and hard of hearing

While the trend for the orthopedically and visually handicapped has been towards integration and a drastic reduction in the numbers of pupils attending special schools, this is not the case with pupils who have hearing disabilities. The number of places in special schools for these children is approximately the same today as 20 years ago.

There are five regional special schools run and financed by the State. There are also two special schools for multiply disabled pupils with hearing disabilities: one for those with mental retardation as an additional disability and one for those with behavioural disturbances.

The principle of integration has been discussed most energetically by parents and researchers in this area. The basic argument is that these childrens' disability directly influences their capacity to communicate with others. Integration, it has been argued, should not mean assimilation, making the disabled child live as though he was not disabled. These children lack the basic capacity necessary for social interaction. The need of the child to belong to a social context where he can communicate and be accepted on his own terms has been stressed. The use of sign language and developing a positive self-image among other sign-language-communicating people has been viewed as a goal overriding that of integration/assimiliation. The school objective of preparing the deaf child for life in a hearing community must be built upon this positive self-image, which, it is said, can only develop in a group where

he can communicate freely and be accepted on a basis of equality.

The special school for deaf and hard of hearing comprises 10 years and has its own curriculum based on the curriculum of the regular compulsory school.

Altogether there are 2,100 compulsory school pupils who have some technical device to compensate hearing defects. About 600 attend special school and the rest go to ordinary schools. Four hundred of these are in remedial teaching groups and the majority (1,100) are individually integrated with ordinary classes.

The mentally retarded

The municipalities are responsible for the compulsory education of all children, even if the child and/or his parents prefer a State-run special school. This is not so, however, for the mentally retarded. Responsibility for their education rests with the county council. A county council (Sweden is divided into 23 county council areas) covers several municipalities and is the prime planning level for medical and health care. The county council has a far-reaching responsibility for the mentally retarded (under a law passed in 1967) including not only education but also treatment and medical care, diagnosis and case-finding, habilitation, family support, housing and so on.

Every mentally retarded child is entitled by law to education. The special school for the mentally retarded is organised parallel to the regular comprehensive school. Mentally retarded children under 7 years old are entitled to pre-school education. Most pre-school education is now integrated in regular pre-schools. About 70% of the mentally retarded children in this age group attend regular

pre-schools, together with other children. The rest of them attend special pre-school groups, most of which are physically integrated with ordinary pre-school premises.

The education of retarded pupils in the 7-17 age group is divided into special elementary schools (for moderately retarded children) and training schools (for severely retarded children). No lower age limit is set for attending training schools.

For special elementary schools and training schools the trend towards integration has been established in the form of what is usually called "facility integration" or "integration of premises". The special classes are housed in ordinary school buildings and the mentally retarded children share the premises with ordinary children but receive their education in special classes.

Today more than 95% of the classes of special elementary schools and about 75% of training school classes are integrated in this way.

In recent years a growing number of retarded children have also been integrated with ordinary classes. This, however, is not an officially recognised form of education and often runs into administrative problems as the regular school has a different mandator (the municipality) from the special school (the county council).

There are (1982) about 2,200 pupils attending training school and approximately 4,000 in special elementary schools for mentally retarded children.

Unlike other pupils, the mentally retarded, after leaving the special elementary or training school, have a right to vocational training and education until the age of 21

(which, in individual cases, can be prolonged till 23). About 40% of the classes giving vocational education are "facility-integrated" with ordinary upper secondary schools.

Upper secondary school

The compulsory comprehensive school gives a general education. It is supposed to give every citizen a common ground of basic knowledge.

Upper secondary school is voluntary. It is aimed at given more specialised knowledge as a preparation for special occupations, either directly after school or through further studies at university level.

The general goal of education - the all-round development of the individual - also holds good for upper secondary school. The curriculum now in force, which dates from 1970, lays down goals and guidelines and makes recommendations concerning the arrangement of different courses.

The present secondary school organisation is often termed "integrated". This is to underline that a lot of different courses of study are given within the same school. The parts "integrated" are practical - directly vocationally oriented - education - and theoretical - e.g. university entrance - education.

Upper secondary school is strictly divided into different "lines". These can be roughly grouped into three sectors: arts and social subjects, economic and commercial, scientific and technical. The lines are of 2, 3 or 4 years' duration. The 2-year vocationally oriented lines prepare for work-careers, while the 2-year theoretical lines and the 3- and 4-year lines prepare for advanced studies.

Upper secondary schools need a large number of pupils to be able to offer alternative courses or lines. Their catchment areas are therefore larger than those for the comprehensive nine-year school, often covering several municipalities.

All lines include Swedish, working-life orientation and gymnastics. But otherwise the lines are specific; the system is highly differentiated.

About 85% of all pupils leaving comprehensive school go on to upper secondary school. As a result of the present high unemployment among young persons the Riksdag has decided that all 16-year-olds are to be given the opportunity of attending upper secondary school. Moreover, the school authorities have been made responsible for ensuring that all young persons aged 16-17 either have a job or are given some kind of education.

The most popular lines in upper secondary school are 2-year lines leading directly to employment.

Trends and changes

A special Commission has put forward proposals for the re-organisation of upper secondary school. The proposals are now being analysed at Government level, and a Government Bill is expected within the next half-year. The problems identified by the Commission include the following:

+ The transfer from comprehensive schools to upper secondary schools should be handled more sensitively.
+ Upper secondary schooling is too isolated from practical working life.

+ The pupils leaving upper secondary schools are not adequately prepared for their role as citizens and employees. They need more training in team-work, conflict solution and responsibility.

The proposals put forward include:

+ More and compulsory practical experience of working life.
+ A more flexible system of alternative courses within the framework of three different "programme areas", viz economy, social and technical.
+ The last year of the nine-year compulsory comprehensive school should prepare pupils more directly for upper secondary school entrance.

Special education

The Upper Secondary School Curriculum states: "The outward organisation and internal work of upper secondary school must (therefore) be designed in such a way that each individual student can find study routes and working procedures which are conducive to his or her personal development. Schools have a special duty towards those students who, for physical, mental or other reasons, encounter difficulties in their relationships with classmates and in their school work".

In a school with a differentiated sytem of lines and courses the problem is to find the right course and adapt demands to the pupil's ability. Insofar as special education measures are used, they usually take the same form as in the comprehensive school, viz co-ordinated teaching, clinics or special teaching groups. There is also the possibility of prolonged schooling and individually adapted syllabi.

The number of pupils receiving special education at the upper secondary level increased rather heavily at the end of the sixties. There is also a pronounced selection at this level. Pupils receiving remedial education in compulsory school are less apt to carry on their studies at upper secondary level. If they do, they more often choose short special courses and they tend significantly more often than other pupils to leave before the courses are finished.

Pupils with disabilities

Disabled pupils are to varying degrees integrated within the regular system at upper secondary level. The situation for pupils with different disabilities can be described as follows.

The blind and visually handicapped

No statistics are available to show how many pupils with vision impairment leave school or continue their education in upper secondary school. One evaluation put forward in a recent report is that the proportion of such pupils continuing is about the same as for other pupils. For those with severe vision impairments the proportion is said to be even higher than among other pupils, but on the other hand, the severely disabled are said to have an unusually high drop-out rate.

The Education Ordinance makes it possible for schools to organise special classes for the visually handicapped with 5-10 pupils per class. According to a survey in 1980, not a single school has exercised this option. All of the 124 visually handicapped students attending upper secondary school that year were individually integrated into ordinary classes.

Some special educational support was received by 17% of them, usually consisting of 1-3 hours' special training in a clinic. Personal assistance was used by 15%, usually in the form of a "help-reader".

Looking at the choice of educational lines, it is obvious that visually handicapped students tend to choose different lines from non-disabled students. Their choices are more theoretical. They are over-represented in the 3-year Liberal Arts Line and under-represented in shorter, technical, and vocationally oriented lines. This is all the more noticeable considering the fact that many severely visually handicapped adults are found in occupations that call for a more practically oriented education. One reason seems to be that the theoretical education is more easily adapted to the needs of the visually impaired than activities in the more practical lines. This seems to influence parents, teachers and SYO officers in their advice to the student.

Orthopedically handicapped pupils

According to a survey based on the registers of regional consultants, there were about 400 orthopedically handicapped students attending upper secondary school in 1980. The figures indicate that the proportion continuing their education after the compulsory comprehensive school is smaller than among other youngsters.

About 60% of the 400 were able to move without any technical aid, about 50% were able to write and about the same proportion were able to handle books without assistance.

Orthopedically handicapped students were evenly distributed between theoretical and practical lines. But they tended to choose shorter (2-year) lines more often than others. All of them, except those attending the special upper

secondary school at Skärholmen (see below) were individually integrated in regular classes. In none of these classes had the number of pupils been reduced.

At Skärholmen in Stockholm an experimental scheme of special upper secondary schooling for severely orthopedically handicapped students, integrated with an ordinary school with about 900 students, has been in progress since 1974. Pupils have been accepted from all over the country. Between 20 and 30 handicapped students have attended the school each year.

Most of the students have attended special classes and taken 2-year lines. A few have taken 3-year courses and been individually integrated into regular classes.

What makes the school particularly suitable for severely handicapped students is a concentration of medical and social resources and special housing arrangements adapted to their needs. The housing arrangements have been made in close proximity to the school. The students themselves motivate their choice of school (the alternative would have been an upper secondary school in their home-neighbourhood) by pointing to the well-adapted physical premises and closeness to medical resources.

Evaluations have shown that students with disabilities are usually satisfied with the school, although no regular social contacts have been developed with non-disabled students. The personnel working with the impaired students describe difficulties in finding things for the students to do after leaving school and returning to their homes as the major problem.

In a recent Government Bill it has been suggested that the Skärholmen experiment should be discontinued. In future,

severely orthopedically handicapped youngsters are to receive their schooling in their home municipalities, and resources are to be moved from Skärholmen to regional consultants who can assist the communities in such a development.

Deaf and hard of hearing

In 1980 there were 451 pupils with hearing disabilities at the upper secondary level registered by the regional consultants. The majority of them (58%) attended ordinary classes in regular schools and were individually integrated in ordinary classes. Most of them had some special educational support, although the amount of special educational resources per pupil was far below the comparable amount at compulsory comprehensive level.

The choices of line for the individually integrated pupils indicate an over-representation of two-year vocationally oriented lines and an equivalent under-representation for longer theoretical lines.

The 42% that were not individually integrated went to special classes, either at Alviksskolan in Stockholm or at the special upper secondary school for deaf students and students with severe hearing disabilities in Örebro. The former is the only school in Sweden with special classes at this level for children who have previously attended regular compulsory comprehensive school. The choice of lines, however, is limited. Most of the pupils in special classes take the two-year Social Line.

The special upper secondary school in Örebro receives pupils from all over the country, and 37% of all students with hearing disabilities are to be found here. Children who have attended the 10-year special comprehensive school

for the deaf and hard of hearing are entitled to a place at this school. The number of pupils has been limited to 200, which means that other students have often had to be rejected. Apart from former special school pupils, the school has received, capacity permitting, adults with hearing disabilities, many of whom come from labour market training (AMU, see below), and from the special folk high school run by the Swedish Association of the Deaf.

The school is run by the municipality which receives special State grants. The special classes for the handicapped students are physically integrated with several regular upper secondary schools in Örebro. Only in some cases has individual integration in regular classes been tried out. Most of the students take two-year courses. Very often they have difficulties with the normal speed of learning and therefore do an extra year.

A growing proportion of the pupils (today about 25%) have multiple disabilities, i.e. they have other disabilities besides their hearing disability, most often in the form of orthopedic impairments or mental retardation.

Extra resources for housing, recreation, vocational guidance, technical assistance and so on are tied to the special school.

The dominant philosophy in educating these severely disabled pupils is to view them as bilingual: their spoken (native) language being sign communication and spoken Swedish their second language.

In a recent Government Bill it has been suggested that the upper secondary school for deaf and hard of hearing in Örebro be made permanent, and also that another upper

secondary school for the hard of hearing be established in the north of Sweden.

The mentally retarded

The education of the mentally retarded, as well as their need of care and service, is a council responsibility. When it comes to education at upper secondary level, the mentally retarded stand out as the only group entitled (and obligated) to receive such education until the age of 21 (or until age 23 if necessary). Upper secondary schooling for the mentally retarded is organised separately from other schools, although it is tending more and more to be integrated on the same premises as "normal" schools at this level.

Upper secondary education is divided into three levels according to the intellectual level of the students: vocational education (for the slightly and slightly-moderately retarded), vocational training (for the moderately retarded) and activity training (for the severely retarded). The aim of vocational education is to prepare pupils for a job in the open labour market or, if this is not possible, some form of sheltered employment. The content of the training and education given is very similar to practical lines of ordinary upper secondary schools, although teaching methods can be adapted to the slower pace of learning of the retarded pupil. The vocational training focuses on sheltered employment and combines training in special activities with training in basic ADL-skills. Activity training for the severely retarded is aimed at giving the pupil an opportunity to develop his personality and learn very basic skills. When the severely retarded reach the upper age limit for attending school they will usually go to a day centre.

In January 1984, special upper secondary schools for the mentally retarded had 3,842 pupils, of whom 38% were receiving vocational education, 36% vocational training and 16% activity training. Almost half of the classes were integrated with ordinary school premises, the other half being at segregated special schools. Only a small percentage of the pupils were individually integrated into ordinary classes.

THE LABOUR MARKET

Several changing trends have been apparent in the development of the Swedish labour market over the past 10 or 15 years.

Employment participation (the economically active proportion of the national population aged between 16 and 64) has increased. During the 1970s the total Swedish labour force grew by about 400,000 persons. Women accounted for the whole of the net increment, and it is women whose employment participation has risen most conspicuously. During the 1970s the proportion of women aged between 16 and 24 in employment rose from about 60% to about 75%. The increase for men was less pronounced. In the higher age groups, the male employment participation rate declined, due mainly to the improved availability of disability pensions and to a reduction of the standard retiring age.

The same period brought a distinct rise in the proportion of part-time employees. At the beginning of the 1970s this was about 16%, but by the end of the same decade it had risen to some 25%. The main reason for this increase is that the women entering the employment sector tend to a very great extent to work part time.

The rise in the number of persons in employment has come almost entirely within the public sector. Industrial job opportunities have diminished. During the first half of the 1970s, the growth of industrial output was nonetheless sustained by rising productivity, but no such increase has occurred since the end of the 1970s.

The stagnation of output and a growing budgetary deficit have led to a policy of retrenchment in the public sector, with the result that heavy unemployment has come to be the

dominant problem of economic policy in recent years. Swedish unemployment is however low by international standards. Overt unemployment is between 3.5 and 4%. Adding to this the number of persons involved in various programmes of labour market policy (sometimes referred to as "concealed unemployment"), the figure almost doubles.

Labour market policy

During the post-war era, Swedish labour market policy has come to be regarded as a central instrument of economic policy in efforts to maintain a combination of balanced economic growth and full employment. Its theoretical and political foundation is the wage policy of solidarity formulated by the trade union movement and aimed at securing equal pay for equal work. The idea was for this policy, insofar as it resulted in less viable industrial undertakings being put out of business, to be combined with an active labour market policy which above all emphasised the possibility of facilitating the geographical mobility of labour.

During the 1960s labour market policy was mainly concerned with facilitating the readjustment of workers made redundant by the rapid structural change associated with economic growth. During the second half of the 1960s, however, this "removal van policy" and its consequences in the form of depopulated regions and rapid urban expansion, came in for mounting criticism, with the result that labour market policy during the seventies also came to be very much concerned with the security of the individual employee and not just with his or her entitlement to employment somewhere in the economy. Labour market policy was combined with an active State economic and regional policy aimed and encouraging industrial undertakings to carry on or start up in more remotely situated areas that were losing popula-

tion. Improved job security is also a major ingredient of the legislation passed in the mid-seventies.

Viewed in an international perspective, Swedish labour market policy is above all distinguished by three things. The first of these is the high level of aspiration as regards maintaining employment and counteracting unemployment. This is reflected, for example, by the large proportion of labour market policy expenditure (3% of GNP), which is greater than in any comparable country.

The second is the balance struck between "the employment line" and the "cash support line". Labour market policy is to a very great extent concerned with creating job opportunities. Cash assistance in connection with unemployment is regarded as a last resort, only to be called on when opportunities of education, retraining, relief work etc. have been exhausted. Certain estimates indicate that "the employment line" accounts for some 90% of labour market policy expenditure - a figure greatly exceeding the corresponding expenditure in other Western European countries.

The third distinctive feature is the close co-operation existing between the social partners (i.e. employers' associations and unions) and the Government. As will be seen from the following description of the main organisational structure, labour market policy is framed and implemented on a basis of close co-operation between trade union organisations and employers' associations.

Organisation

The National Labour Market Board (AMS) is the central administrative board responsible for labour market policy. AMS was one of the central boards which expanded most rapidly during the 1970s, and today it accounts for between

6 and 8% of total State expenditure. AMS has the task of planning and implementing measures to counteract both unemployment and shortage of labour. It is in charge of placement services, vocational guidance and rehabilitation, and it supervises the unemployment insurance funds administered by the trade unions. AMS is headed by a Directorate whose members include representatives of the central labour market organisations.

The county employment boards are AMS' counterpart at regional level. Their directorates also include representatives of the social partners. It is at this level that relief work projects are planned and mounted and contingency plans prepared for public projects which can be started at short notice in order to sustain employment during a downturn.

At local level we have the local employment offices. Their activities are supervised by district employment boards, on which representatives of the local social partners constitute a majority. The employment offices are mainly concerned with job placement, i.e. matching labour supply and local demand. In a manner of speaking, these activities are the nucleus of labour market policy, and they are facilitated by the rule that all employers with more than 5 employees have to report vacancies to the Employment Service. It is also at this level that individual measures such as labour market training or vocational rehabilitation are decided on and put into effect.

Labour market policy instruments

Labour market policy has three principal tasks. The first of these is placement - matching labour supply with labour demand. This has tended to become more and more difficult, due to the widening gap between the qualifications demanded

by employers and the insufficient education and job experience possessed by labour. But the really big difficulty in recent years has been the inadequate supply of vacancies.

The second task involves making jobseekers more attractive, by means of various forms of training, wage subsidies, rehabilitation etc.

The third task involves generating or creating increased labour demand, i.e. augmenting the supply of vacancies.

There are various instruments available for the discharge of each of these main tasks, and they can be summarised as in the figure below.

Figure 3: Instruments of Labour Market Policy. (From Hedborg-Midner: Folkhemsmodellen. Rabén and Sjögren, Stockholm 1984, page 127.)

Measures to stimulate supply	Measures to stimulate demand		Matching
Labour market training	Company incentives	Individualised incentives	Placement
Relocation support	Regional policy	Relief work	
Vocational rehabilitation	Stock-piling support	Sheltered workshops	
	Orders to industry		

Measures to stimulate supply are aimed at bringing the labour force into line with existing demand. Education is one of the means employed to this end. For this purpose, special courses are organised, known as labour market training (AMU). These are designed for persons aged 20 and over who are unemployed or faced with the prospect of unemployment. The training provided must focus on specific needs of the labour market. Young persons under 20 can also be given this type of training in special cases. AMU includes both basic courses preparing trainees for working life and more specialised courses leading to particular occupations. Most labour market training takes the form of courses run at special institutes, but there are also cases of labour market training being organised within the regular education system, and in recent years especially, labour market training has been organised within companies.

These various types of training involved 130,000 people during the 1982/83 fiscal year, and courses lasted for an average of 16 weeks. About 15% of the persons commencing some form of training during this year were occupationally handicapped (this term is defined below). This was a smaller percentage than in the immediately preceding years, partly because more restraint is being imposed on the organisation of labour market training within the regular education system. It was this form of labour market training that attracted the largest numbers of occupationally handicapped persons.

During 1982/83, labour market training accounted for 22% of labour market policy expenditure.

Relocation support is another measure designed to stimulate supply, its aim being to improve the geographical mobility of labour. This support takes the form of financial grants towards travel expenses, removal costs and the cost of

starting up in a new locality. Altogether 24,000 such grants were awarded in 1982/83, at a total cost of SEK 144m.

Measures to stimulate demand also include vocational rehabilitation, which is provided at special employability assessment institutes (AMI). As the name implies, these institutes test the work capacity of applicants and provide special work training if necessary. AMI activities are headed by teams including, for example, psychologists, social workers, physiotherapists and doctors. Vocational rehabilitation is designed for the "occupationally undecided", i.e. persons without any definite occupational preferences, and for the occupationally handicapped. Some institutes have special resources for groups with particular functional impairments, viz the visually handicapped, the deaf and hard of hearing, the orthopedically handicapped and the mentally retarded. Last year "occupationally undecided" persons made up 58% and occupationally handicapped persons 42% of the approximately 20,000 persons undergoing vocational rehabilitation.

The various programmes range in duration from 4 to 24 weeks, most of the longer programmes being for occupationally handicapped persons with particular functional impairments. Of the trainees completing their rehabilitation in 1982/83, 14% obtained employment in the open market, while 17% obtained some form of sheltered work or wage-subsidised employment.

As regards measures to simulate demand, one can distinguish between those addressed to undertakings and branches to step up their labour demand and those involving the direct creation of job opportunities for certain individuals. The former include various types of support to encourage undertakings to retain or hire personnel, e.g. State grants to

allow time for adjustment in connection with impending closures, State orders to undertakings threatened with closure, permission to draw on statutory investment reserves and stockpiling subsidies. In the event of a closure being imminent, special funds are also obtainable for in-house training.

Relief work projects are an example of more indivudalised measures aimed at stimulating labour demand. These projects are organised to offset cyclical and seasonal unemployment. They can also be specially organised for the benefit of elderly or disabled workers, and in recent years they have been increasingly used as a means of creating job opportunities for young persons and giving them a chance of acquiring work experience. Young persons can also combine relief work employment and labour market training.

Relief work is paid at the going rates. State employers receive State grants covering all wage costs, while other employers receive similar grants covering 75% of wage costs. Relief work projects are usually limited to a maximum duration of six months. Expenditure on relief work projects in 1982/83 totalled SEK 4,688m. An average of 52,900 persons were employed in this way every month, and roughly 13% of them were occupationally handicapped.

The measures of labour market policy described above are of a more general nature, i.e. not specifically intended for the occupationally handicapped. On the other hand, as has already been made clear, certain types of vocational rehabilitation and relief work are specifically intended for the handicapped. And as has also been made clear, occupationally handicapped persons make up a relatively large proportion of those involved by the various measures. Some measures, however, are specifically reserved for persons classified as occupationally handicapped. These measures

comprise various forms of sheltered employment, various forms of support and wage subsidies for employers. These arrangements will be described in greater detail in the next section.

Legislation

As we have already seen, the rapid structural change occurring in the 1950s led to criticism of the "removal van policy". At the same time it became increasingly obvious that certain employee categories had more difficulty than others in coping with the relocation of labour this involved. It was particularly noted that elderly and disabled workers affected by industrial closures had more difficulty than others re-establishing themselves in the employment sector. This was part of the reason for the increasing efforts made during the 1970s to improve job security.

These aspirations acquired their clearest manifestation in some of the legislation passed during the mid-seventies, which included the Security of Employment Act. This Act limits the right of an employer to dismiss employees. Dismissal is only allowed "on objective grounds". Redundancy comes within this category, but a worker dismissed on account of redundancy has first option on new employment with the company concerned for a specified period of time. The Act also defines the order in which workers are to be dismissed. These rules provide special safeguards for elderly and disabled workers. For example, an occupationally handicapped person may not be dismissed on this account until every possibility of workplace adjustment and transfer to alternative duties has been tested.

The Promotion of Employment Act defines the notice to be given to employees by their employer prior to dismissal.

This Act also entitles the county employment boards to request information concerning the number of workers hired by an employer, the proportion of employees in particular age groups and with reduced working capacity, intended cutbacks and so forth. The Act specifies measures which the county employment board can take to promote the recruitment of elderly and occupationally handicapped workers - measures implying a progressive degree of coercion. The county employment board can request information concerning the proportion of employees of advanced age and with reduced working capacity. It can also summon employers to discussions concerning ways in which additional elderly and handicapped workers can be hired. Directions can be issued concerning particular measures to be taken by the employer and, as an ultimate sanction, an employer can be issued with an injunction to hire the labour referred to him by the local employment office.

The more coercive provisions of the Act have never been implemented. In 1980, to activate county employment boards, AMS issued implementing regulations which led to a considerable increase in the number of employers summoned to attend discussions concerning recruitment policy.

In connection with the passing of these Acts, AMS also issued recommendations concerning the establishment of special adjustment groups. Groups of this kind have to be set up at all workplaces with more than 50 employees, and they consist of representatives of the local trade union, employer's representatives and an official from the Employment Service. The task of these groups is to promote a more positive attitude towards elderly and occupationally handicapped workers and to suggest means of modifying the individual workplace for their benefit. Adjustment groups also have to suggest means of enabling established employees to retain their jobs, and they have to safeguard

the interests of elderly and handicapped workers in connection with the procurement of machinery and other equipment.

Some 5,000 adjustment groups are now operative, though some are more active than others. According to a survey in 1981, only 60% of all adjustment groups had had a single meeting that year. Other evaluations indicate that the adjustment groups have mainly concentrated on internal transfers of personnel, helping to modify the duties of persons who are already employed but for various reasons are unable to carry on with their previous duties. On the other hand these groups have done less to facilitate the admission of new groups of elderly and handicapped persons to workplaces.

Handicapped persons in the labour market

The past decade has seen a rise in the number of occupationally handicapped persons in Sweden as recorded in the official statistics maintained by AMS. The official definition of an occupationally handicapped person is "a job applicant who, on account of physical, mental, intellectual or socio-medical disability, encounters or can be expected to encounter difficulty in obtaining or retaining employment in the regular labour market". The statistics quote as occupationally handicapped the persons reporting to the Employment Service and classified as occupationally disabled in their files. A note to this effect is made in the individual file after consulting the Social Insurance Service, in response to a doctor's report or, in certain cases, following assessment by the individual placement officer. The assessment has to be made with reference to the local labour market. The extent to which "difficulty in obtaining or retaining employment" is said to exist must be influenced not only by the individual person's functional impairment but also by the availability of work. Classi-

fication as occupationally handicapped serves the purpose of releasing instruments of labour market policy which are specially reserved for this category.

In recent years, occupationally handicapped persons have comprised between 10 and 13% of all jobseekers. About 770,000 jobseekers were registered during the 1982/83 fiscal year, and roughly 75,000 of them were registered as occupationally handicapped. In monthly figures, the number of occupationally handicapped persons on the books of the Employment Service has risen from about 22,000 in 1976 to roughly 30,000 today.

The picture of developments conveyed by statistics, however, is not completely straightforward. There are many disabled persons who, owing to the adverse employment situation, do not report to the Employment Service at all because they have so little chance of getting a job. In the present situation, with large numbers of jobseekers registering with employment services, placement officers are tending not to investigate all cases of potential occupationally handicapped. On the other hand there are signs that the term "occupationally handicapped" comes to be more generously employed in certain quarters when the employment situation becomes difficult, which indeed is fully in line with the ideas underlying the relative definition.

A somewhat more dependable picture of the employment situation for handicapped persons is obtainable from statistics in which the group is defined by other criteria instead of those relating to the labour market. Data concerning the living standard of the population have been collected in Sweden since 1974 by the Central Bureau of Statistics (SCB). These data are collected from a sample of the population (6,000 persons, except between 1975 and 1979,

when the sample comprised 12,000 persons). Some of the questions provide relatively detailed information concerning the respondent's state of health. One of the follow-up questions reads: "Does your illness (injury, disability) imply a reduced work capacity?" There are three alternative answers: "Very much so", "To some extent" and "Not at all".

We know that even small changes to the phrasing of questions in surveys of this kind can have quite a considerable impact on the proportion of respondents affirming certain symptoms. It seems, however, especially where developments over time are concerned, that the above question, which has been asked in exactly the same words in all the surveys, can be used to obtain an approximate picture of the employment situation for the handicapped. The following table shows the development of unemployment among persons respectively with and without occupational handicaps, as reflected by the question stated above.

Table 1. Unemployment by percentages of the labour force (i.e. persons in employment, applying for employment or disposed to apply for employment if they believed they could obtain any). (From Wadensjö, E: De arbetshandikappades arbetsmarknadssituation och åtgärder för arbetshandikappade. Preliminary version. Mimeograph. 1984, p. 14)

	Year							
Group	1975	1976	1977	1978	1979	1980	1981	1982
Work capacity very much impaired	5.9	6.2	5.0	6.3	5.8	5.4	8.0	10.3
Work capacity impaired to some extent	4.3	3.6	3.1	6.0	5.3	4.7	4.5	7.8
Work capacity unimpaired	2.5	2.7	2.6	3.3	2.8	2.9	3.5	5.0

As can be seen, unemployment has been consistently higher among persons with impaired work capacity, and it has been particularly high among those whose work capacity is very much impaired. One also finds that all categories have been affected by the growth of unemployment in recent years.

The above statistics might suggest that the difference in employment between the various groups is not really very

large, but this is because unemployment is computed in relation to labour force membership. A much larger proportion of persons with impaired working capacity are excluded from the labour force (i.e. they are neither employed nor jobseekers). The following table shows labour force membership with reference to the above groups.

Table 2. Non-membership of the labour force, 1975-1982. Percentages. (Wadensjö op.cit. p. 13)

	Year							
Group	1975	1976	1977	1978	1979	1980	1981	1982
Work capacity very much impaired	55.7	57.5	56.1	53.0	53.3	55.3	52.6	59.0
Work capacity impaired to some extent	25.1	23.9	20.0	20.4	19.3	18.6	21.7	18.6
Work capacity un-impaired	18.3	17.6	16.1	16.1	15.3	15.3	15.5	15.1

This table shows that the proportion not belonging to the labour force is far greater among persons with impaired work capacity and particularly large among those whose work capacity is much impaired. Due mainly to the rising female employment participation rate, the proportion of persons excluded from the labour force has tended to decline in recent years, but as we can see, this does not apply to persons whose work capacity is much reduced. On the con-

trary, the percentage outside the labour force in this group increased substantially during the last year on record.

The picture conveyed by these figures shows that handicapped persons (which for present purposes means persons whose work capacity is impaired as a result of illness or suchlike) are far less well represented in the labour force than other categories, and also that insofar as they belong to the labour force they are more prone to unemployment. As regards developments over the past few years, the figures suggest that the employment situation for the handicapped has deteriorated at roughly the same pace as the situation for other categories. There are, however, difficulties of interpretation involved here. We do not know what these figures would look like if labour market policy measures on behalf of the handicapped had not been stepped up in recent years.

In conjunction with the International Year of Disabled Persons in 1981, a more detailed analysis, based on these data, was made of the living conditions of groups with various functional impairments. The population was divided into groups having various diseases/functional impairments.

Table 3: Conditions of employment. Percentage within each group of disability/functional impairment (Age 16-64). (From SCB: Handikappad, Delaktig, Jämlik ? Rapport 25, 1981. Liber Förlag. Page 82)

	Limited eyesight	Limited hearing	Severe limitation of mobility	Limited mobility
Economically active	62.9	80.3	38.9	55.5
Not economically active	37.1	19.7	61.1	44.5
Early retirement pension	21.0	10.1	53.0	21.2

	Heart	Pulmonary	Diabetes	Epilepsy
Economically active	54.1	61.0	62.0	45.5
Not economically active	45.9	39.0	38.0	54.5
Early retirement pension	38.2	21.5	23.9	50.2

	Allergy	Psoriasis	Entire population
Economically active	75.3	72.3	78.2
Not economically active	24.7	27.7	21.8
Early retirement pension	5.1	8.4	4.6

Most diseases and functional impairments are more common among advanced age groups. In these age groups people tend less often to be gainfully employed. The results of our table have been affected accordingly, but controlling for the age structure, we are entitled to draw the following conclusions:

- Persons with impaired vision, the orthopedically handicapped, persons with heart disease and epileptics have a significantly lower employment participation rate than the rest of the population.

- Persons with impaired hearing have a significantly higher employment participation rate than the rest of the population.

These figures do not include the mentally retarded.

Handicapped persons and labour market policy

There are measures of two kinds which can be taken on behalf of handicapped persons with employment problems. One of these comprises labour market policy measures, and the other is the award of disability pensions. Measures of the former kind are aimed at moving handicapped persons into the employment sector. Disability pension means that they have left the employment sector and receive cash assistance for their livelihood.

As stated above, handicapped persons come within the scope of general measures of labour market policy, e.g. labour market training and vocational rehabilitation. But classification as "occupationally handicapped" also opens up the possibility of other measures being taken which are specially reserved for persons of this category.

Wage-subsidised employment is the commonest measure of this kind. This is a form of employment where the State awards the employer a grant towards wage costs. The grant is conditional on the employer hiring an occupationally handicapped person. Its purpose is to compensate the employer for the additional costs he may incur in the form of a slower pace of work, reduced productivity, the need for increased supervision, the modification of job content and so on. The responsibilities of the employer qua employer remain undiminished. Conditions of pay and service must be the same as with "ordinary" employment. Thus wage subsidies are to be regarded as a grant - mostly of limited duration - to facilitate the direct integration of occupationally handicapped persons in the employment sector.

The size of wage grants varies somewhat. The rate for private undertakings, municipalities and county councils is 75% of actual wage costs for the first year, 50% of the second and third years and 25% for the fourth. Extension is possible after the fourth year, subject to special assessment, and extensions are actually granted in most cases. National authorities and social insurance offices can obtain grants covering full wage costs, but the total number of job opportunities qualifying for this full compensation is limited (6,200 for the 1982/83 fiscal year).

Non-profit organisations can obtain wage subsidies covering 90% of wage costs for an indefinite period, though the Government has imposed a limit on the numerical growth of such job opportunities (500 places for the 1982/83 fiscal year).

An augmented wage subsidy is payable for severely handicapped young persons under 25 for whom sheltered work or disability pension would be the sole alternative to wage-subsidised employment. This grant is payable at rates of

90%-50%-50%-50% for the first four years. Unlike other wage subsidies, it can be combined with grants to cover the cost of a special work assistant for the handicapped employee.

Special wage-subsidisation rules also apply to the second and third years of employment for severely handicapped persons, for employees of sheltered workshops proceeding to employment in the open market, and for ex-employees receiving grants on account of occupational handicap.

At mid-1983 there were some 36,000 occupationally handicapped persons employed on wage subsidies, 41% of whom were employed in the public sector (as against 39% of the entire labour force). Wage-subsidised employment was more common in employment blackspots with diminishing populations.

Following the introduction of the wage subsidy in its present form in 1980 (when it superseded various forms of semi-sheltered employment), the number of occupationally handicapped persons receiving grants of this kind has risen by almost 8,000. Attitudes to this type of support are consistently positive on the part of the authorities concerned, organisations and the handicapped movement. There is a great deal to suggest that from the viewpoint of the national economy this arrangement is more profitable than sheltered work or disability pensions. Unlike the latter, moreover, it leads directly to the integration of the occupationally handicapped individual at an ordinary workplace. There has, however, been some criticism of the practical organisation of this support, and this recently prompted a Government Commission to recommend certain alterations. The Commission wants employment to begin with a trial period of up to six months, qualifying for "introductory support" covering 90% of actual wage costs. The grant should then cover 50%-50%-25%-25% of wage costs and

be subsequently renewable for 3-year periods at a rate of 25%. Where seriously handicapped persons are concerned, the Commission has recommended that the introductory support should be followed by a 90% grant for three years, after which the grant should be renewable at a rate of 25% or 50% every three years. The Commission recommends that State employers should continue to receive wage subsidies covering 100% of wage costs.

Sheltered employment is the second most common measure of labour market policy on behalf of occupationally handicapped persons.

All sheltered workshops in Sweden have since 1980 formed part of a single foundation, the Samhällsföretag (Community Enterprises) Foundation. This incorporates 24 regional foundations responsible for activities at a total of 350 workshops.

The task of Community Enterprises is to provide employment for occupationally handicapped persons referred by the Employment Service because they are unable to find jobs in the regular labour market. The workshops are mostly manufacturing undertakings, their main products being engineering articles and furniture.

The Community Enterprises workshops are operated on an explicitly commercial basis, the aim being to achieve the best possible operating result per hour worked. Activities are run according to commercial principles, the express aim being to achieve maximum efficiency. In this context the State support received is regarded as compensation for the social service of hiring occupationally handicapped workers. In their markets the workshops compete on essentially equal terms with other enterprises.

There are also explicit social objectives, however. These involve providing work for as many occupationally handicapped persons as possible in positive and developmental working conditions, as well as enabling workers to enter the regular employment sector.

Many observers have drawn attention to the conflict existing between the economic and social objectives of Community Enterprises. It is not easy to reconcile the aim of meaningful employment for as many occupationally handicapped persons as possible with the demands of efficient and businesslike production. A rise in productivity standards, with a view to enhancing efficiency and sales, can very easily make it difficult for occupationally handicapped persons whose productivity is low to keep their places on the production line. Demands for efficiency have been intensified in recent years due to the Government and Riksdag wishing to reduce their financial grants towards activities. State subsidies in the 1982/83 fiscal year covered 131% of the wage costs of occupationally handicapped workers. The foundation's own plans include efforts to reduce this figure. The State wishes to accelerate the reduction so that it is already brought down to 101% of wage costs by 1988/89.

Some 23,500 occupationally handicapped persons were employed in Community Enterprises workshops in 1982. Roughly a quarter of them worked full time. Their average age was about 45. Some 25% had orthopedic handicaps or other physical functional impairments, and an equally large group had mental or intellectual impairments.

Wage-subsidised employment and employment in the sheltered workshops run by Community Enterprises bulk largest among the various measures of labour market policy specially intended for the occupationally handicapped. In addition,

there are various forms of support which can also supplement the instruments described above. These can be briefly summarised as follows.

Grants for motor vehicles. Handicapped persons requiring cars or motorised invalid carriages in connection with their work or vocational training can obtain grants of up to SEK 30,000 for this purpose. These grants are subject to a means test.

Grants towards technical aids at work. A disabled person requiring special aids at work can obtain a grant of up to SEK 50,000 for each aid. Larger amounts can be awarded in special cases. A certain amount of support is also obtainable in connection with repairs to aids of this kind.

Grants for special workplace arrangements. If a workplace needs to be adapted for the convenience of a handicapped employee, for example through the installation of special lifts or modifications to make facilities accessible to wheelchairs, grants of up to SEK 50,000 are obtainable for the purpose.

Work assistant grants. If a severely handicapped employee requires assistance from another person at his workplace, a grant for this purpose is payable at a rate of up to SEK 20,000 annually per handicapped individual. This type of support is not payable in connection with wage-subsidised employment or employment in sheltered workshops, except in the case of young persons under 25.

Grants of these kinds were awarded in 6,500 cases during 1982/83. This does not exactly correspond to the number of occupationally handicapped persons involved, because several applications could relate to one and the same person.

Start-up assistance is another specialised form of support, comprising grants of up to SEK 15,000, which can be combined with interest-free loans of up to SEK 60,000 for disabled persons starting their own businesses. In 1982 this type of support was utilised by some 1,800 businesses.

The measures of labour market policy described above form part of the arsenal administered by AMS and its counterparts at regional and local levels. For persons unable to obtain employment, education or occupation through this organisation, there is the alternative of disability pensions. These pensions are disbursed by social insurance offices under the supervision of a central authority, the National Social Insurance Board. Disability pension is a form of cash assistance received by persons who are not expected to be "available for employment".

A disability pension is obtainable in two ways. The first way is for the individual concerned to take the initiative by applying for a pension. Otherwise the social insurance office can initiate an inquiry leading to the award of a disability pension. A pension of this kind can be applied for on medical or occupational grounds. When the initiative is taken by the social insurance office, the person concerned almost invariably has a record of prolonged sickness absence.

Disability pension is conditional on work capacity being permanently reduced by at least half as a result of illness or some other impairment of physical or mental capacity.

The number of persons receiving disability pensions has risen appreciably in the past few decades. There were 151,000 disability pensioners in 1963, but in 1982 there were 309,000. The heaviest increase has occurred in the top age groups, and this is partly connected with the

relaxation during the intermediate period of conditions governing the award of pensions. In the youngest age groups, the proportion of disability pensions has if anything tended to decline.

The steep rise in the number of disability pensioners during the 1970s led to fairly widespread discussion and research concerning the reasons. Research findings were contradictory. Whereas some observers argued that the deteriorating employment situation was the main cause, others pointed to the relaxation of the rules governing the award of disability pensions or to a change of practice on the part of the social insurance offices.

The award of disability pensions to young persons with functional impairments (mostly mentally retarded persons but also persons with severe orthopedic handicaps and multiple disabilities) has been observed and criticised. Where certain categories, e.g. the mentally retarded, are concerned, disability pensions are still being awarded almost as a matter of routine when they reach the age of 16 and cease to be entitled to financial benefits for children. As a result, many mentally retarded youngsters receive disability pensions - a form of support for persons definitely outside the labour market and expected to remain so - while they are undergoing vocational education.

Disability pensions are awarded to some 600 16-year-olds annually. Child allowance and care allowance cease to be payable at this age, and so the young persons concerned are awarded disability pensions by way of financial compensation. In response to the criticism which this has aroused, it is now possible for disability pensions to be awarded on a temporary basis. It is also possible for a disability pension to be kept dormant for three years, i.e. relinquished for three years but recoverable within that period

without any further application/investigation being necessary.

There is also an obvious risk of disability pension obstructing other measures. The phase during which the rehabilitation groups at social insurance offices investigate the rehabilitation of individual clients is often the point at which the question arises of awarding a disability pension following a prolonged period of sickness absence. If a disability pension is already awarded at age 16, no genuine investigation of this kind ever materialises.

Then again, the self-image of the individual is often damaged by his becoming a "pensioner" at such an early age. Studies have been made of the way in which mentally retarded persons experience their situation, and they have been asked why they want a job. One answer frequently received is that what they want is a wage, not a pension. A wage in return for work done means something important to these youngsters. They often feel that occupation at a day centre and other forms of employment are different because the latter are "real" jobs for which one receives a wage instead of a pension.

Attention has been drawn to these problems in several contexts, and a Government Commission on the employment situation for handicapped persons has been instructed to investigate the feasibility of introducing some form of "rehabilitation support" instead of early disability pensions.

TRANSITIONAL ARRANGEMENTS

In preceding sections we have described how schools are organised and what schooling arrangements are made for handicapped children and youngsters, and we have also considered the situation for handicapped persons in the labour market and measures of labour market policy taken on their behalf. This description can be summed up as in figure 4, Appendix B.

Children/young persons leave school at different ages. About 15% of compulsory school leavers do not go on to any form of upper secondary schooling. Young persons attending upper secondary school can do so for various lengths of time and can acquire an education which is directly vocational or which leads on to higher studies. In this way, school "output" is scattered between a variety of age groups.

On the right hand side in the figure we have the employment sector which is to absorb young persons. Apart from the open labour market, this sector also comprises the various limited labour markets created by various measures of labour market policy. Wage-subsidised employment, sheltered work, day centre activities and disability pension have been placed under one another in the figure, while other measures which are of more limited duration or of an educational nature have been interposed between school and employment. According to the official objectives, wage-subsidised employment, sheltered work and day centre activities should also be temporary measures leading to regular employment. I have represented them as "independent" labour markets here because there is in fact very little output from them to the open labour market. Instead of leading on to something else, they tend to become permanent. Only 8% of those terminating wage-subsidised employ-

ment in a certain year acquired permanent jobs. Roughly 1.5% of employees in the sheltered workshops run by Community Enterprises enter the open labour market in the course of a year. There are no general statistics concerning day centres for the mentally retarded, but all experience suggests that the majority of mentally retarded persons not obtaining any form of employment on leaving special vocational school get stuck in day centres. Disability pension, finally, implies by definition that the recipient is no longer available for employment. One is therefore justified in regarding these different policy measures as levels in a "labour market hierarchy" rather than temporary measures of labour market policy.

The gap between school and work/measures of labour market policy is the phase in which transitional arrangements are supposed to facilitate the change. It is not altogether easy, however, to specify certain measures and institutional arrangements as being of a transitional nature. The overriding purpose of the entire school system, after all, is to condition and educate the pupil for adult life. School is one gigantic run-up for the leap into adult life/employment. Similarly, the labour market and measures of labour market policy can be regarded as a system to facilitate entry into employment. This is their function whatever the applicant's age. Given this general perspective, however, the fact remains that the transition of young persons from school to work often presents specific, tangible problems. These problems occasion efforts to ease the process of transition.

In Sweden during the past decade, increasing emphasis has been put on the importance of bringing schools closer to working life. This tendency was fully apparent even before the current youth unemployment began to make itself felt and demand acute action. The principle is clearly mani-

fested, for example, in the new Compulsory School Curriculum, through the increased prominence given to working life orientation and the introduction of longer periods of work experience. "Educational and vocational orientation" (SYO) is another element of school activities which expanded rapidly during the 1970s. This term is employed in the curriculum as a collective designation for aspects of teaching designed to inform pupils about working life and prepare them for future educational and occupational choice.

One of the essential principles of the curriculum is that educational and vocational guidance, like general working life orientation, should not be isolated from other school activities. Nor should they merely serve to convey information. They must also help to improve the pupils' self-knowledge and to counteract restrictions of educational and occupational choice such as sexual stereotypes, considerations of status and social or cultural background.

The curriculum requires working life and occupational orientation to be included in the teaching of all compulsory school subjects. In addition, direct measures are required in the form of personal guidance. And to give pupils hands-on experience of working life, work experience periods totalling 6-10 weeks have been made compulsory in the compulsory comprehensive school.

Special SYO officer appointments exist for the planning, administration and conduct of educational and vocational guidance (work experience included) in schools. These appointments were introduced in 1972, since when they have been maintained on an experimental basis. There now exists a draft scheme for the establishment of these activities on a permanent footing. Appointments of this kind were held by some 2,150 persons in the spring of 1982. The structure

and focus of the appointments are currently being discussed in connection with the proposal to make the organisation permanent.

SSA committees (committees for co-operation between schools and the employment sector) were set up in every municipality in 1977 under an amendment to the Education Act, the aim being to strengthen and facilitate co-operation between schools and the employment sector. This policy decision was based on the experimental operation of committees of this kind for several years in 12 municipalities. Organisationally the committees come under the LEAs, to which they have to submit proposals concerning actions to be taken. The committees must comprise at least five members (representing local employers and union organisations, the Employment Service, the LEA, school staff and pupils). In the great majority of municipalities, however, the SSA Committee is larger than this, often numbering between 10 and 15 members. The secretary is a special official, though these duties do not occupy him full time except in the larger municipalities. Usually a school SYO officer holds this position on a part-time basis.

Corresponding committees have existed at regional level since 1978, and a central, nationwide SSA Committee was established in 1981.

The main task of these committees is to improve co-operation between schools, the Employment Service and local working life. The committees discuss and initiate various activities and measures which are then submitted to the LEA for approval.

The many duties which these committees are expected to discharge include the following: increasing the interchange of information between schools and the employment

sector, increasing opportunities of in-service teacher training concerning employment questions, facilitating the transition of pupils to employment, supporting the promotion of equal opportunities, promoting various types of experimentation in this field, and charting the additional contacts with working life needed by schools.

Surveys of the activities of the SSA committees show that they have mostly been concerned with organising and conducting work experience periods for pupils. The committees are an excellent meeting point for discussing suitable work experience opportunities. Many municipal authorities have given these committees the task of not only procuring work experience opportunities but also of planning and conducting work experience activities. The second main task of the SSA committees has been that of planning the discharge of school follow-up responsibilities for young persons aged 16 - 17 (see below).

In response to the growth of unemployment among young persons in recent years, a number of more concrete measures have been taken to support this general bid for a rapprochement between schools and the employment sector. For example, work experience periods have been prolonged and in recent years upper secondary school admissions have been decided on the strength of pupils' marks for the autumn term (the last term but one) in grade 9 of compulsory school. This has eliminated competition for marks during the final (spring) term. Pupils are informed well in advance which line they have been accepted or rejected for, and the spring term can be spent preparing them for their transition from compulsory school to upper secondary school or employment. The National Board of Education has also proposed that the final term be devoted to intensified guidance in small groups to prepare the individual pupil for subsequent activities.

Two other measures of a more thoroughgoing nature have been undertaken to combat youth unemployment, namely the imposition of follow-up responsibilities on schools and the introduction of youth teams. These are both primary measures to combat youth unemployment, but they can also be regarded as more long-range measures to facilitate the transition between school and employment.

Schools have since 1980 had a special follow-up responsibility on behalf of young persons aged between 16 and 17 who, after leaving compulsory school, are neither permanently employed nor receiving any regular form of education. This responsibility devolves primarily upon LEAs. The measures taken are designed to help the young persons concerned to enter regular upper secondary schooling or regular employment.

Individual programmes should be drawn up for these young persons by municipal authorities and continuously followed up and evaluated. The commonest measures, for which municipal authorities receive State grants, are follow-up programmes, youth opportunities and LA training.

Follow-up programmes represent an intensified continuation of the SYO which the pupil has already encountered at school. Under the follow-up programme, the pupil receives vocational orientation, personal guidance, information about the labour market and the causes of unemployment etc. This type of follow-up is usually arranged in the autumn of the year in which the pupil left compulsory school. It can also be divided into recurrent periods during the two years for which the follow-up responsibility applies, in which case it can be made to alternate with education and casual employment. The duration of this kind of follow-up varies but can total six weeks.

Youth opportunities have to be provided at ordinary workplaces in consultation with the local trade union organisation. The establishment of such opportunities comes under a central agreement between the social partners. That agreement emphasises that youth opportunities must not influence the size of the regular work force. The employer receives a State grant of SEK 75 per day and is required to pay a wage of SEK 85 per day to the young person concerned. The same person can occupy a youth opportunities place for up to six months. Opportunities of extension are very limited. At mid-1983 there were about 8,600 young persons employed under the youth opportunities scheme.

LA courses, the third measure forming part of school follow-up responsibilities, are specialised courses geared to the local labour market and intended to be "tailor-made" for particular jobs locally available. These courses can be regarded as a shorter supplement to regular upper secondary schools, adapted more closely to labour market conditions.

School follow-up responsibilities come to an end when young persons reach the age of 18. Responsibility for their employment and occupation then devolves upon the regular labour market policy agencies, and the measures then available are primarily those already described.

Recently, however, the high unemployment prevailing among young persons under 20 has led to initiatives aimed at procuring employment opportunities for the 18-20 age group. Since January 1984, the rule has been that young persons in this age group failing to obtain employment or education in any other way must be provided with occupation in the form of "youth teams". These youth teams are employed by municipal authorities or the State. The municipalities are responsible for ensuring that they are organised. The

youth teams are required to do socially useful work which cannot be done in the course of the regular activities of the authorities concerned. This can mean care and welfare duties, information measures, leisure activities and so on. The participants can also be employed to assist the regular staff. Work can be done by teams of young persons or individually. The term "youth team" derives from the stipulation that several young persons (10-20) must have a single supervisor. Within the team, they are to be free to state viewpoints concerning the activities to be undertaken.

Members of youth teams are required to work for 4 hours daily. Exceptions are made, for example, in the case of members of unemployment insurance funds and mentally retarded participants, who if they prefer are entitled to full-time employment within the youth teams (8 hours per day). Young persons are referred to youth teams by employment offices and, if no other measures are possible, this must be done within three weeks of the individual youngster reporting to the employment office.

Jobless youngsters are required by law to accept youth team places. If they refuse, their cash benefits (unemployment insurance benefit or cash unemployment assistance) will be withdrawn.

The provisions concerning youth teams include special rules for the mentally retarded. Persons of this category are required to attend school until they are 21 years old, so that if the maximum age limit of 20 were to be applied to them they would be entirely excluded from the youth teams scheme. It has therefore been decided that mentally retarded youngsters are eligible for youth team employment up to the age of 25.

The legislation concerning youth teams was passed by the Riksdag in December 1983. By the beginning of February 1984, some 14,000 youngsters had been found places of this kind, including about 100 occupationally handicapped persons.

Transitional arrangements for the handicapped

The measures described above in connection with the transition from school to employment also apply to the handicapped. Thus the integration pursued in the school sector means that pupils with functional impairments must also have access to ordinary SYO activities in school, ordinary work experience periods and measures of labour market policy, to the same extent as other youngsters.

At the same time, the segregated schools have their own organisation, and the persons responsible there for educational and vocational guidance are concerned solely with the particular handicap category for which the school caters. Thus there are special SYO officers on the staffs of special schools for the mentally retarded. Their teaching appointments are somewhat differently constructed, but they have essentially the same duties as SYO officers in ordinary schools. The same goes for the careers teachers serving in special schools for the deaf and partially hearing. In both cases, pupil numbers are smaller than in ordinary schools. Whereas an SYO officer in an ordinary school is in charge of educational and vocational guidance for about 750 pupils, the corresponding figure in a special school for the mentally retarded is about 120. As will be discussed in greater detail below, working methods in these segregated schools also differ somewhat from those commonly employed by SYO officers in ordinary schools.

In addition to the special resources geared to the segregated schools, there are also a number of features on the "employment side" of the transition which are specially reserved for the handicapped. Of course, as we have already seen, several measures of labour market policy are expressly reserved for persons classed as "occupationally handicapped". But in addition there are resources for dealing with the employment problems of special groups with functional impairments. Thus the county employment boards have a number of advisers concerned exclusively with the employment situation for the deaf, and also a number of advisers specifically concerned with the situation for the visually impaired. In addition, several county councils have, as part of their responsibility for the mentally retarded, engaged special officers to concentrate on procuring employment for this category. Some county councils also have job adjustment officers dealing specifically with the orthopedically handicapped or the visually handicapped.

The most distinctive characteristic of the transitional phase from the viewpoint of handicapped as opposed to non-handicapped youngsters is its dependence on a number of other measures. In order for a pupil with severe functional impairments to be successful in negotiating the transition to employment and adult life, there are so many other things which have to be made viable besides employment. The medical rehabilitation conducted under county council auspices in conjunction with medical organisation naturally has a part to play. Housing arrangements for a young person leaving home are another question which often poses no problem to non-handicapped youngsters but has a very important bearing on the prospects of handicapped youngsters getting jobs and living independently as adults. Where certain severely handicapped pupils are concerned, many people consider the question of housing accommodation quite crucial in this context.

Thus there are several interlocking questions involved by the transition of handicapped pupils from school to employment. Things are not made easier by the considerable number of organisations and mandators often involved. Medical rehabilitation, as we have already seen, is a matter for medical authorities. Some county councils have a co-ordinated organisation for all child rehabilitation, and a Government Commission has recommended a more permanent organisation of this kind. For orthopedically handicapped persons, for example, there are also major rehabilitation institutions, sometimes combined with a segregated school, at regional level. In the case of the mentally retarded, who permanently remain a county council responsibility and the subject of a special care organisation, these matters are attended to at county council level.

One problem, however, which is attracting growing attention, not least in view of the above mentioned proposal to expand the co-ordinated child rehabilitation organisation, is the lack of any corresponding organisation for adult rehabilitation. Such rehabilitation clinics as exist are linked to emergency hospitals and mainly admit "new cases".

PROBLEMS CONNECTED WITH THE TRANSITION FROM SCHOOL TO EMPLOYMENT

The problems experienced by "handicapped" persons during the transitional phase naturally vary according to the type of functional impairment involved. The problems of the visually handicapped differ from those of the deaf and hard of hearing, the problems of the mentally retarded are not the same as those of the orthopedically handicapped, and so on. In this section an attempt will be made to pinpoint a number of problems which can be termed common to groups with different functional impairments. This, however, will involve formulating the problems in relatively abstract terms.

The problems represent a spectrum of viewpoints, most of which have cropped up in my conversations and interviews with various practitioners in the field, and also when talking to a number of people with functional impairments.

I do not propose in this section to discuss any solutions to the problems, but several of them lead quite naturally on to the next section, describing some cases of "innovative practice". These cases have been selected so as to illustrate various ways out of the problems and dilemmas identified in this section.

The insufficiency of "ordinary" measures...

Pupils who are integrated in ordinary schools, i.e. the majority of orthopedically handicapped, visually handicapped and deaf or hard of hearing pupils, are entitled to participate in the transitional arrangements made by ordinary schools. It is a commonly shared opinion, however, that pupils with functional impairments are poorly served by these measures. The insufficiency is one of both quant-

ity (not enough resources of various kinds) and quality (available resources are misdirected).

School SYO activities are a case in point. Many handicapped youngsters feel that they received little or no information and guidance at schools concerning their future occupation. This view is often confirmed by the persons responsible for guidance in schools, i.e. SYO officers. They have to deal with quite large numbers of pupils, and they do not have the time to give detailed guidance to each individual. Most pupils are informed collectively, in the classroom, about educational and occupational choice. Nor do SYO officers appear to have any definite priorities of their own where individual counselling is concerned. It is the pupils demanding individual guidance who receive most. These active inquiriers are usually "well-endowed" pupils, i.e. pupils with good marks and high motivation who are well aware of the importance of their future choice of education/occupational line. SYO officers feel that they cannot turn these pupils away, and so they are left with little time for the "activation measures" which the goals formulated for these activities also require them to engage in.

But the quantity of guidance and information is not the only problem. The content of SYO in schools tends to be more in line with the needs of the "well-endowed" pupils than with those of the disadvantaged ones. Individual guidance can be said to comprise two elements: information, and assistance in developing better self-knowledge. Information is usually supplied by word of mouth and supplemented by various kinds of information material. Personal self-knowledge is pursued in talks with the pupils.

For pupils with functional impairments, the achievement of personal self-knowledge and a secure assurance of their

possibilities and limitations represents a much more difficult and arduous process than for other pupils. Their self-image has to incorporate its their deviation and a realisation of its nearly relative significance. For teenagers especially, this involves special problems which both teachers and counsellors can often find difficult to cope with. Nor is information and communication by word of mouth necessarily the best way of helping the pupil to achieve this kind of insight. Instead, SYO officers who have worked a great deal together with handicapped pupils, e.g. at special schools for the mentally retarded or deaf/hard of hearing, attach great importance to the role of practical experience. In their opinion, the best way for pupils to get to know their difficulties and potentialities is by being confronted with a practical work situation. It also seems as if these segregated schools put far more emphasis than ordinary schools on practical training and practical experience, and less emphasis on information and interviews as such. This, admittedly, is made easier by the fact that the segregated schools have a larger quantity of SYO resources at their disposal and are in a better position to get to know the individual pupil.

Considering the handicapped pupil's great need of practical training and concrete experience, it is remarkable that pupils of this category should have greater difficulty than others in getting access to work experience opportunities. A great deal of SYO time, as well as the time of the SSA committees, is spent procuring work experience opportunities and organising the activities themselves. There are SSA committees which have deliberately and successfully given priority to the need for work experience opportunities suitable for pupils with functional impairments. In most places, however, the experience seems to be that in this as in other respects, these pupils come at the end of the queue. There are cases of pupils with functional

impairments missing out on work experience altogether, due to a failure to procure suitable opportunities.

The follow-up responsibilities of schools towards jobless youngsters between the ages of 16 and 17 appears, with its distinct emphasis on prolonged and intensified guidance and work experience, to be admirably suited to pupils with functional impairments, and the figures already presented suggest that a relatively large proportion of handicapped pupils of certain categories do not go on to upper secondary school and, if they fail to obtain employment, come within the scope of these follow-up responsibilities. As yet, however, we have very little information as to how this works out in practice.

Nor do we have any data as to how young persons with functional impairments are affected by measures on behalf of 18- and 19-year-olds. Youth teams are such a novel phenomenon that no experience has yet been reported.

Youth teams, however, appear to offer particularly favourable terms for entry into employment where at least one group is concerned, namely the mentally retarded. As has already been made clear, mentally retarded youngsters are entitled to join youth teams up to the age of 25. The only occupation available to many mentally retarded youngsters leaving special vocational school at the age of 21 is that provided by the county councils through special day centres. These centres, moreover, are segregated, i.e. populated exclusively by mentally retarded persons. Youth teams now present an opportunity of hands-on experience at ordinary workplaces over a period of several years. There are many who belief that this, combined with the proposed improvements to wage-subsidised employment, will provide a substantial opportunity of improving the employment situa-

tion for the mentally retarded. It remains, however, to be seen how far these hopes are justified by events.

The Employment Service constitutes the gateway to labour market policy measures. In order to be considered in the first place for such measures as labour market training (AMU) and vocational rehabilitation, the individual has to register with the Employment Service as a job applicant. And in order to participate in measures specially intended for the occupationally handicapped, e.g. wage-subsidised employment or sheltered work with Community Enterprises, the applicant has to be placed in this category by the Employment Service.

As things are today, with large numbers of applicants and few vacancies, employment office officials are engaged in quite a hard race against time. As a result they can only devote a relatively small amount of time to each applicant. Sometimes the inquiries which could have resulted in applicants being made the subject of special "handicap measures" are not carried out. Sometimes too, time-consuming matters, e.g. those requiring a number of contacts with other authorities, are put to one side. The term "occupationally handicapped" (and the measures that go with it) also tends to be applied to job applicants with only minor disabilities, thus putting the severely handicapped in a relatively disadvantaged position. Thus here again, people with functional impairments tend to come last in the queue.

Summing up, the intensification of transitional arrangements in recent years has benefited the handicapped, but they are often relatively disadvantaged by comparison with non-handicapped persons. It should, moreover, be emphasised that this is happening even though it has been officially emphasised in several contexts that the measures taken must include special consideration for the handicapped and

their situation. SYO is a good example in this respect. Ever since it was introduced in the beginning of the 1970s, declarations of policy have emphasised that it is to operate on a "compensatory" basis, with special attention devoted to the situation of the "disadvantaged". This emphasis on "compensating" disadvantaged groups for their position of inferiority has if anything been augmented with the passing of time, at the same time as reports showing the difficulty of translating this principle into practice have become increasingly common.

... and the pitfalls of segregative measures

Our discussion so far has in various ways been concerned with the inadequacy of ordinary transitional arrangements in relation to pupils with functional impairments. One conclusion that might be drawn from this type of criticism is that special resources and solutions are needed to deal with the problems of the handicapped.

Groups with different functional impairments display quite varying degrees of "integration" in the sense of utilising the resources "normally" available. The orthopedically handicapped and the visually handicapped attend ordinary schools. No special occupational arrangements are made for these particular categories. Schooling for the deaf/hard of hearing includes both segregated and integrated arrangements. In the occupational sphere there are no special arrangements for this category. The greatest degree of organisational segregation concerns the mentally retarded. All responsibility for their education, housing accommodation, medical care and supportive arrangements of various kinds is vested in the county councils, each of which has built up a special organisation, headed by a politically appointed committee, for this purpose.

It would not be out of place to consider the effects of these variations on the channelling of pupils into employment. A discussion of this kind is also justified because otherwise our discussion so far is only too liable to prompt the conclusion that special solutions and organisational segregation are called for.

Arrangements for the care of the mentally retarded represent the most segregated alternative and can therefore be taken as an example of the risks and disadvantages which a system of this kind can entail.

Mentally retarded pupils enrolled in special school gain access to special county council resources in terms of family support, housing accommodation, pupil welfare and so on. They become eligible for vocational education/training extending up to the age of 21. They attend a type of school whose teaching methods and content have been adapted to suit their special circumstances. When they reach adulthood, the county courcils assume responsibility for their employment by organising special day centres.

The risk involved by this kind of "total" organisation of the lives of the mentally retarded is that the organisation tends to screen itself off from other organisations. Even though teaching is conducted on ordinary school premises and the mental care organisation tries to devise integrated forms of housing accommodation, there is an imminent risk of a special "culture" developing within the organisation. This culture outlines the importance of catering for the "special" needs of the mentally retarded by means of "special" personnel, "special" education and so on. The mentally retarded are liable to be socialised into the role of care recipients - authorised recipients of the attentions of their special organisation. This can make it hard for them to cope with the transition to adult life in which

independence and capacity for contact with others play such an important part.

These problems are particularly apparent in connection with the transition from school to employment. The vocational education undergone by the moderately retarded presents quite respectable figures in terms of the numbers obtaining work on leaving school. About 17% obtain employment in the open market, 25% obtain wage-subsidised employment and 18% enter sheltered work. These figures are from 1980, but the pattern has been fairly consistent for a number of years. Those who have undergone vocational training, however, have much greater difficulty in entering the employment sector. Only a small percentage enter the open labour market, and about 10% enter sheltered or semi-sheltered employment. The great majority, about 70%, are admitted to the special day centres for the mentally retarded. These centres also admit an even larger proportion of the severely retarded who have undergone activity training.

The day centres could be a theatre of further training and efforts to channel the mentally retarded into integrated workstations, but results in this respect are less encouraging, due not least to the poor use made by these day centres of the general repertoire of labour market policy measures available. Mentally retarded youngsters at day centres are seldom registered with employment offices, though as we have already seen, this is essential if they are to be considered for other measures. In addition, the staff of these day centres tend to regard day centre admission as a terminal placement.

There are, it is true, exceptions to this general picture. In some places in Sweden, active though informal efforts are made to place mentally retarded persons from day centres in ordinary workplaces. Elsewhere, something resembl-

ing a drive is now in progress to register mentally retarded persons with employment offices. Generally speaking, however, the difficulty involved in getting mentally retarded persons out of the day centres reflects the dilemma of the segregated institution, namely its tendency to become isolated from the opportunities actually available. The intra-organisational culture which is created is very liable to centre exclusively round its own tasks and problems.

A similar type of problem can be seen in the transitional phase encountered by the deaf and hard of hearing. As stated earlier, it is emphasised that pupils of this kind attending special schools need to have a communicative environment of their own. Deliberate efforts are made to develop their capacity for communication within the group, as the prerequisite of a more substantial integration than mere superficial assimilation.

If the care of the mentally retarded illustrates the problem of a segregated organisation which, indirectly and to some extent unconsciously, creates a segregated culture, the deaf/hard of hearing can if anything be taken to illustrate the opposite. A segregated culture is deliberately created. This can cause difficulty when entering employment. A person who has learned to belong and communicate with other deaf persons is very liable to become isolated and run into difficulties when associating with hearing colleagues at work.

The creation of segregated environments, whether they are prompted by the need for organisational resources or by the necessity of belonging to a community where one is accepted as one is, entails special problems in connection with entry into "normal" adult life.

Special resources for handicapped youngsters which appear to work particularly well are those which are located within an "ordinary" organisation to act as "locomotives" for the benefit of a certain handicapped category. Thus the deaf/hard of hearing and blind/ partially sighted have had consistently positive experience of the special advisers attached to county employment boards. A person in this position is in close touch with the available opportunities, while at the same time possessing detailed knowledge of the specific problems of a particular group. The appointment of advisers for certain handicapped categories at county education committees also appears to have had encouraging results. These advisers work with pupils who are integrated in the ordinary school system, but they are closely familiar with their problems and constitute a source of knowledge for staff coming into direct contact with such pupils in school.

Co-ordination

Purely generally speaking, the problem of transition from school to employment can be viewed as a problem of co-ordination. School, its content and its special guidance activities have to be co-ordinated with employment and the labour market, including the labour market policy programmes. Even in "normal cases", this is quite a complex problem of co-ordination, as witness, for example, the tendency for SSA committees to include about 15 members, representing a variety of interests and relevant organisations.

A further type of co-ordination problem arises in the case of pupils with functional impairments attending segregated schools, because these segregated organisations have to maintain contact with their regular counterparts as well as the labour market and its various members.

We have already noted how many other organisations, mandators and institutions have a part to play in the transition from school to employment where young persons with functional impairments are concerned. Medical rehabilitation is very much involved, as are municipal social services. The Social Insurance Service plays an important part in matters of financial compensation. Complicated problems of co-ordination therefore arise, and these are compounded by the responsibilities of certain institutions coming to an end as pupils grow older. Schools cease to be responsible when the pupil reaches the age of 18, and rehabilitation ceases to be a county council responsibility at age 20. Consequently there is also a problem of co-ordination between these agencies and their counterparts in the adult sector.

This has been repeatedly observed in various contexts. In several cases it has led to the establishment of various co-ordination bodies. The SSA committees are, of course, a good example of this where the transition from school to employment is concerned. Within the Social Insurance Service, rehabilitation groups have been set up at local, regional and national levels to deal with particularly complicated rehabilitation cases and to discuss the allocation of responsibilities when plans are drawn up for individual cases. These rehabilitation groups comprise representatives of the Social Insurance Service, the Employment Service, municipal social services, criminal welfare and medical care.

Also within the labour market organisation there are co-ordinating bodies at central, regional and local level. They are called "delegations for vocational rehabilitation" and include representatives of different organisations and interest groups, e.g. unions, handicap-organisations, the Social Insurance Service.

In addition, an agreement has been concluded at national level between AMS, the Swedish Association of Local Authorities (representing the 283 municipalities into which Sweden is divided), the Federation of the Swedish County Councils (representing all 23 county councils in Sweden), the National Prison and Probation Board and the National Board of Health and Welfare, concerning the allocation of responsibilities in individual rehabilitation cases.

Co-operation, of course, is made easier through the establishment of these joint bodies, but at the same time the number of such bodies and the allocation of responsibilities between them and in relation to the organisations they represent are liable to become complicating factors in themselves. Even if not all these bodies have direct dealings with clients, the structure of responsible agencies is made to appear still more complicated from the viewpoint of the individual.

Duration of the transitional phase

"Normal" measures to facilitate the transition from school to employment are applied during the late teens, for the relatively short period in which a pupil has to be guided into vocational education and/or employment.

Where most pupils with severe functional impairments are concerned, this transition takes longer to accomplish. This is not only because of the difficulty which such pupils experience in gaining access to employment. They often need to spend more time in school. In some cases their absenteeism is high because they have to take time off for medical treatment. They need all-round training, which can be time consuming. And as stated earlier, there are many different things which have to be arranged in order for the transitional phase to be a success. Housing

has to be procured, possibly together with support and supervision, aids have to be tested, work has to be arranged and so on.

For all these various reasons, young persons with functional impairments require a longer transitional period than the non-handicapped. In some segregated schools, this has been taken into account by making compulsory schooling (or its equivalent) last for 10 years instead of 9. The extension of compulsory school age for the mentally retarded up to 21 is also to be viewed in this perspective, and the same goes for the common practice, in upper secondary schools for the deaf/hard of hearing, of prolonging two-year studies by one year.

Problems still occur, however, due to some resources being poorly adjusted to this longer transitional phase. Complaints can be heard from job adapters working to get mentally retarded persons out of day centres. They are annoyed at schools having such abundant resources (teachers, pupil welfare, guidance, personal assistants) while day centres are relatively poorly off in this respect. They feel that a better fit could be achieved if schooling was not rigidly curtailed at a certain age and resources were made flexible and capable of accompanying the pupil, so as to be applied when needed. A system of this kind would be preferable for many mentally retarded persons, who undergo what has been termed "after-maturity" on moving away from home and beginning to adapt to their adult role.

Other handicapped persons describe their life after leaving school as one of "being shunted around the system". They attend labour market training, they are rehabilitated at an employability assessment centre, they improve their education by taking folk high school courses. All these activities are interspersed with periods of unemployment. It is

felt that the various forms of education and other arrangements are too shortlived; the individual does not have time to assimilate everything before having to move on to the next "adjustment measure". A more continuous transition is called for, in which questions of housing and employment can be discussed in a single context and the measures taken are more closely adapted to the "maturity rate" of the individual.

Differences of perspective

Transitional problems can be described in various ways. There is a clear tendency for people involved in schools (teachers, SYO officers) to describe things from one vantage point whereas people involved on the "employment side" adopt a different perspective.

Schools are often concerned with the pupil developing his full potentialities. Emphasis is placed on his development potential, and this sometimes involves what placement officers and job adapters refer to as "lack of realism". Schools are so anxious to emphasise all positive opportunities of development that they overlook the difficulties and obstacles which a functional impairment often entails. With conspicuous frequency, they avoid tackling the problems associated with functional impairment. The pupil is treated "as if" he did not have any such limitations at all. Sometimes this attitude is combined with a critical view of society and the labour market for not accepting or "approving" the pupil's handicap. The implication is that society should adapt to the pupil instead of the other way round. Arguments to this effect can be derived from the words of the curriculum concerning the need for education to have a conditioning and transforming effect on society.

Placement officers and job adapters are frequently critical of this "lack of realism" on the part of schools. In their opinion, pupils fail to achieve that realisation of their limitations which is essential if they are to build up a positive self-confidence and an appreciation of their true capabilities. Pupils are often said to leave school without so much as an elementary understanding of the possibilities and limitations which the labour market involves, and it is said that the vocational orientation and guidance provided in schools ought to be made to concentrate far more on practical and concrete questions and not so much on open-ended "therapeutic" interviews.

Reading a vacancy advertisement, procedure for reporting at an employment office and so on are types of knowledge which, it is said, schools often fail to supply to their pupils.

This rather drastically depicted difference of perspective is connected with the respective roles of schools and the labour market in society, in a somewhat profounder sense. Education means providing knowledge and opportunities. Schools employ a divergent perspective, opening up the landscape of opportunities presented by adult life for the pupil to see. Schools lay the foundations of knowledge and skills on which the pupil must be able to base his choices in this landscape of opportunities.

To many young persons, and not only those with functional impairments, the realities of adult life prove different from the promising outlook of school years. Young persons with functional impairments and special employment difficulties are very liable to find this collision of ideals and realities particularly abrupt. It is this tension which is reflected by the different perspectives of personnel working together with handicapped youngsters in

schools and the employment sector respectively. Where schools employ a divergent perspective, the employment sector has a convergent one which takes the existing labour market as its starting point and tries to adapt the pupil accordingly. Or, as one job adapter put it when interviewed: "The reality of schools is that of the curriculum. Ours is that of a segregating labour market".

Employment - occupational therapy

I have already described the various measures of labour market policy at the disposal of the occupationally handicapped. In doing so I observed that many of the measures aimed at leading to employment in the open labour market tend to become permanent.

Nevertheless, evaluations of the various measures tend to emphasise the open market as "real" employment. Less value is put on various forms of subsidised or sheltered work. Reference is sometimes made to first and second elevens in the labour market. This is the valuative classification which results from the above mentioned occuapational measures becoming permanent.

To many handicapped persons, however, and especially those with severe disabilities, the idea of employment in the open market - the "first eleven" - is utterly utopian. Many of these people also have difficulty in getting into the various "second elevens". The sheltered workshops run by Community Enterprises have difficulty in admitting severely handicapped persons with little production capacity. The alternative for these people is day centres run by the county council (if they are mentally retarded) or some form of occupation in municipal day centres, which however are operating on a very limited scale. The activities conducted in these places hardly resemble work in the

everyday sense of the term, and many people would rather classify them as occupational therapy or therapy pure and simple.

Day centres for the mentally retarded are interesting in this respect. They are a segregated form of occupation which developed above all during the 1970s, and they can be regarded as a response to the desire for some form of daily activity for the mentally retarded. The fact that they have come to be segregated and reserved for this category is mainly connected with the organisational segregation of all arrangements for the mentally retarded.

For some years now, the staff of these day centres have been engaged in a discussion concerning what exactly their job amounts to. Is it further education and training, employment or therapeutic personal development?

Emphases vary from one day centre to another. Some are primarily concerned with production and resemble small sheltered workshops, accepting assignments from industry and, for certain periods at least, working against the clock to meet delivery deadlines. Others put more emphasis on the training of ADL functions and are concerned with tranferring some of their pupils to the sheltered labour market. Others again provide a considerable amount of further schooling in the form of education and study circles. Some day centres are more concerned with personal development activities aimed at general development and not concerned with entry into employment.

Every approach is open to criticism and is indeed criticised in the course of discussion. Where the productive workshops are concerned, people ask what point there is in mentally retarded persons working to production targets and

trying to imitate a "real" workplace such as the day centre can never become.

The training and education approach often provokes the question as to whether there is any point in forcing mentally retarded people into a system where they spend their lives being trained for something which they will never experience in reality. Day centres concentrating more on personal development are often criticised for not utilising the opportunities which actually exist of channelling their pupils into the labour market. Instead the pupils are "pent up" in a segregated oasis.

While this search for a meaningful focus for day centre activities continues, many other seriously handicapped people feel in need of the same benefit, i.e. a place in an occupational institution resembling a day centre. This is the case, for example, with the severely disabled and persons with multiple handicaps. They want something meaningful round which they can organise their lives. Having somewhere to go and being occupied or working is clearly very important.

There seems to be a need for this kind of institution on the borderline between coping with a job in a sheltered workshop and not having any daily occupation at all. This is not to say that the institution needs to be segregated for a particular handicap category, or even separated from other workplaces in a purely geographical sense.

Given the predominant attitude of society to employment, however, it can be hard to find a concept capable of motivating and legitimising this form of occupation. It is, or should be able to be, something different from work, therapy, training or education. If a concept could be devised which imparted meaning to this form of occupation without

defining it in valuative terms reflecting its relation to "work", this would doubtless make things easier for many handicapped people.

INNOVATIVE PRACTICES

This section describes these individual projects which can be termed "good examples". They have not been selected because they have been conclusively proved successful in transferring a certain number of handicapped youngsters into the employment sector. Their innovative qualities are concerned just as much with the working methods they represent as with the results they have achieved.

Another reason for describing these particular projects as "innovative" is that they have been well documented. Some practices mentioned in previous parts of this report, might be just as "innovative". It has not been possible, however, within the scope of this report to describe them in detail. A list of such potentially interesting practices, which might be of interest to the OECD-project, is presented in Appendix A.

Some of the projects described below can be regarded as efforts to tackle some of the problems described in the previous section. The first example is concerned with the problem of co-ordination. In a project in western Sweden, an attempt has been made to overcome this problem by appointing special liaison officers for orthopedically handicapped youngsters. The working method and the results achieved are described below by the leader of the project, Mr Eje Hultqvist of the Handicap Research Department in the University of Göteborg.

The second example is concerned with the problems, discussed above, of occupations for the handicapped as employment or therapy. The group working method presented has been applied at day centres for the mentally retarded. This method represents a renewal insofar as it takes as its point of departure the personal capabilities of preferences

of the mentally retarded, endeavouring on this basis to construct meaningful occupation. One might perhaps say that an attempt is made to work on one of the qualities often said to characterise dignified and developmental work, viz the realisation of one's own plans and wishes in collaboration with others. This method is not entirely free from controversy. It is based on co-operation within groups of mentally retarded persons and has sometimes been accused of perpetuating the segregated environment constituted by day centres. As will be seen, however, from the description compiled by the leader of the project, Sophian Walujo of the National Board of Health and Welfare, the method includes a deliberate bid for integration in "ordinary" working life.

One problem which has only been indirectly touched on in the above description but which is freqently discussed where handicapped persons and employment are concerned is the implications, from their point of view, of new technology. Forecasts on this point have often been gloomy. It has been feared that new techniques will eliminate various jobs which have been particularly suitable for people with functional impairments. It is perhaps less common to see anything promising about new technology, but experimental computer employment training schemes for the handicapped have been launched in various places in Sweden.

Our third example of innovative practice comes from a report by Guy Lööv and Lars Loman, in which they describe the practical uses to which new techniques have been put for the benefit of various handicapped employees. The survey was conducted by the Commission on the Effects of Computerisation on Employment and the Working Environment (the DEU Commission) at the Ministry of Labour.

ESCORTS AS A RESOURCE IN CONNECTION WITH THE TRANSITION OF ORTHOPEDICALLY HANDICAPPED ADOLESCENTS FROM SCHOOL TO WORK

In recent years, schools have acquired increasing opportunities of admitting pupils with handicaps of various kinds on an integrated basis. The establishment of regional school consultants has undoubtedly meant a great deal in helping the individual school and its staff, through advice and assistance, to solve educational problems of various kinds. What is still lacking, on the other hand, is vocational guidance in greater depth and closer co-operation between schools and rehabilitation staff, as well as with the pupil and his family.

Young persons whom we talked to in the early part of this survey called for vocational guidance in which allowance was made for their situation as handicapped persons. They would have liked better information concerning educational opportunities which might be open to them both in upper secondary school and in other forms of education. These young persons felt that careers teachers and SYO officers today lacked experience of dealing with the problems of handicapped youngsters and were therefore unable to lend them adequate assistance. They wanted more information about study routes which could be modified or adapted according to the situation of the individual handicapped pupil.

Only a small number of orthopedically handicapped youngsters today are taking the vocational lines of upper secondary school. Many, on the other hand, have stated that they would have chosen studies of this kind if the programme had been adapted to suit their needs.

Most handicapped youngsters have less chance than their non-handicapped classmates of obtaining vocation employ-

ment, which in turn means that they have less opportunity of acquiring work experience. To increase their opportunities in this respect, it is important to help them make use of the opportunities which PRYO (practical vocational orientation) can offer. Given careful planning, PRYO/PRAO (practical working life orientation, i.e work experience) and extended PRYO or adjusted studies can be a great help. Some pupils may need extra experience of a particular occupational field before venturing into a long process of vocational education.

In connection with the transition to upper secondary school, handicapped youngsters need help in analysing their work situation and their assistance requirements. Work in upper secondary school is essentially different from compulsory school, and the individual pupil has to make plans for it in advance.

During their school career, moreover, handicapped youngsters must be helped to find feasible working methods for their subsequent employment or education.

All this means that the help required in upper secondary school can differ from that required in compulsory school. In order, therefore, to obtain a realistic picture of the work of upper secondary school, some of the young persons taking part in the project were given a trial week in the line of upper secondary school which they proposed taking.

Until now, notice of admission to upper secondary school has come late in the spring, leaving little time for practical planning. It is of course important for all planning in connection with the transition to be completed before the transition actually takes place, for the pupil to be able to gain access to premises, for technical aids to be installed in advance, for a pupil's assistant to be engaged

and so on. For pupils not spending a "PRYO" period at upper secondary school, an extra whole-day visit has been organised instead. In this way each pupil, together with upper secondary staff, has been able to examine facilities and timetabling and discuss practical points. In many such cases the rehabilitation adviser has also taken part so as to recommend solutions.

Most handicapped youngsters live with their parents while they are attending school. It has proved difficult for many of them to realise their ambition of a home of their own after leaving school. In cases where this has been possible, they have often had to change their residential locality, moving from a small community to a larger town or city. For many of them it has proved impossible to find both housing and employment in the same locality. These difficulties are often due to a lack of co-ordination between various agents. The shortage of modified flats is another major problem.

Housing and access to care services are closely interconnected. Handicapped youngsters require services adapted to the suit young people's need for contacts and social life - services which are available at the times when young persons usually get together. A number of these young persons also require service round the clock if they are to be able to realise their aim of independent living.

Care of this kind can today be organised for young persons who are able to obtain service accommodation, but it seems difficult to arrange for those having other forms of housing accommodation. Night-time home help services can seldom be arranged for those living in flats of their own away from their parents or for those continuing to live in the parental home.

As things now stand, most of the care received by handicapped youngsters is provided by their families. Only in exceptional cases have municipal authorities provided home help services for young persons living with their parents. The State, acting through the Care Services Board, has assumed responsibility for the care of young persons living away from home in order to study at folk high school or university.

Housing and access to care services are essential in order for young persons with severe orthopedic handicaps to be able to live independently. If the housing question is not adquately solved, there will be little prospect of employment and meaningful leisure.

The need for care must not be overlooked when helping young persons, during their school career, to plan for the future. It is important for the young persons themselves to analyse the assistance they require and the ways in which they prefer to receive it.

For some years now, jobs have been in short supply for all young persons. The employment situation for young persons with handicaps of various kinds has always been difficult. An increased supply of job opportunities does not always mean better prospects for handicapped youngsters.

These young persons therefore need special support and assistance in their efforts to find employment. This assistance must be offered at an early stage, which means that practical forms of collaboration between school and the various departments of the employment office must be devised while the pupils are still at the senior level of compulsory school. At present this very seldom happens. Consequently many young people today have had long waits between the end of their schooling and their first jobs.

Large numbers of them have confirmed that this waiting period has a devastating effect on their self-confidence, and it often intensifies their feeling of being handicapped and left out of things.

It is therefore important for young persons for every opportunity of finding a job to be explored. The supply of jobs which can be offered to handicapped youngsters today is extremely limited.

Wider opportunities of workplace adjustment and wage-subsidised employment of various kinds should make it possible for more young persons to be helped in finding employment. Over and above the possibilities already existing, new expedients should be tried, and this is in fact being done. In Göteborg, for example, a project is in progress in conjunction with the Handicap Research Institute, aimed at organising training and placement for severely handicapped youngsters in the data processing sector.

Leisure activity opportunities of various kinds are important to all young persons, but unfortunately the leisure of young persons with orthopedic handicaps is often very constricted. Most of the activities of daily life are time consuming. Journeys to and from school often involve periods of waiting, and so on. Many handicapped youngsters, moreover, receive various forms of treatment which have to take place during leisure hours so as not to interfere too much with their school work.

But apart from the impingement which all these things imply on leisure hours, handicapped youngsters have limited opportunities of associating with other people of their own age. True, most of the young people we spoke to said that they had friends, but for some of them having friends their

own age is an unattainable dream and most of their leisure activities are shared with adults only.

Friends will seldom call to see a person who is unable to go and visit them. If a young person is prevented by an orthopedic handicap from going out independently and is dependent on help from adults, this reduces his contacts with friends of his own age. Transport assistance has been a solution where some young people are concerned, while in other cases parents and relatives have provided transport. Whatever the arrangements, however, spontaneous contacts with friends are always difficult to achieve so long as one is dependent on others for getting out.

An important part of the project has involved talking to young persons about the extent to which they believe they need help or support in order to make their leisure more rewarding. This can relate both to transport and to the establishment of contacts so as to join clubs or participate in other youth activities.

Co-operation is often needed between various public authorities in order for handicapped youngsters to participate in the various resources which the community has provided for them. At present this is left entirely to the handicapped individual and his family.

The co-operation referred to here concerns measures within the individual municipality, but it can sometimes involve measures elsewhere. If a handicapped person wishes to move to a new locality in order to take up employment, this calls among other things for suitable housing, access to the requisite services and adequate transport assistance arrangements.

The Social Insurance Service and, often, vocational rehabilitation authorities also have to be contacted in connection with a change of residential locality, and various social welfare departments in both municipalities have to be notified to prevent grants and supportive measures from "drying up". The rehabilitation clinic in the new residential locality will require a referral, and so on. All these various things frequently involve the individual person in dealings with 10 or 15 different people; see illustration. What is more, responsibilities within the various departments are often divided between several departments and officials. Unfortunately, responsibilities for co-operation and co-ordination within the individual authority are not always clearly defined.

These difficulties are widely attested by many handicapped youngsters and their parents. Many questions of concern to the individual have remained unsolved due to the inadequate co-ordination of practical measures.

Desirable as it may be, a co-ordination of the activities of different authorities is definitely not a practical proposition.

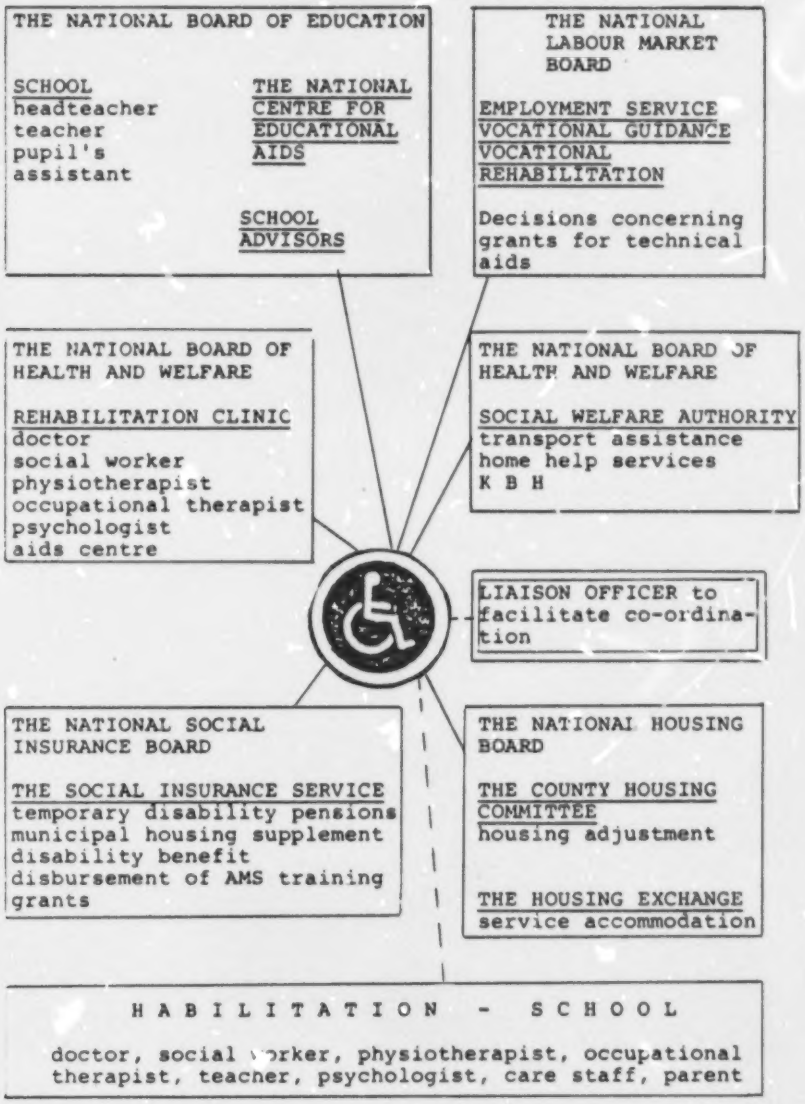
If a liaison officer is placed at the disposal of these young persons, each handicapped individual can be piloted through the bureaucracy. Through his experience of several cases of a similar nature, a liaison officer can establish routines making it possible to devise new solutions to problems.

In this way handicapped youngsters can participate more in the resources which the community has intended for them.

A representative of the school, the social welfare authority, the rehabilitation organisation, rehabilitation or

vocational rehabilitation can liaise with handicapped youngsters and their families. After careful consideration we have decided that a rehabilitation representative will make the best liaison officer.

CONTACTS NEEDED BY A PUPIL



Following consultations with the local rehabilitation units in the area concerned, the rehabilitation officers have been linked to the experiment as liaison officers. As the experiment proceeds, other solutions will also be studied.

The project began following consultations within each county council area between representatives of the parents' organisation, schools (rehabilitation adviser, county education committee and SSA Secretary), vocational therapy, the county council adviser to the disabled, local and regional rehabilitation units and the project team. The various local social welfare authorities were not contacted at this stage, for the simple reason that we did not know which municipalities would be involved.

The 60 or so young persons taking part were selected in consultation with the rehabilitation advisers and local and regional rehabilitation units.

Following an initial mail shot, the young persons selected were contacted personally and given further information about the project. Appointments were then made for interviews with them and their parents. Since the project will occupy quite a considerable period, we felt it was important for the young persons taking part to be told that they are free to discontinue their contact with the project team when they wish to do so. They can always return later on if they like. One important part of the project is to help these young persons to feel that they are personally responsible for the measures needing to be taken. It is therefore important that they themselves should also decide the amount of dealings they wish to have with us.

Because of this freedom of choice, some young persons who at first were hesitant about taking part have joined the

project. Most of the young persons made their decisions after talking the matter over with their families.

The project team, together with the local liaison officers, visited and interviewed the young persons and their parents in their homes. On these occasions the young persons described their experiences of school and their plans for future education or employment. The interviews followed a set pattern including questions about school, conditions at home, leisure, preferences concerning future education, employment and education, etc.

Only a small number of the young persons interviewed stated that they had received any close guidance about planning PRYO. Only a few of the 59 youngsters taking part knew about the information material available at all schools on the subject of planning for employment and the future. They believed that extended PRYO was only available for school-fatigued or disruptive pupils. None of these young persons had been asked whether they needed any technical aids in connection with their intended PRYO period. Those who had personal assistants at school did not know whether the assistants were entitled and able to accompany them to their work experience locations.

Following consultations with the youngsters themselves, the school careers teacher or the SYO officer was contacted in each individual case. All of the persons thus approached were prepared to co-operate. Joint meetings were planned and held. The pupil and, if possible, his parents were always present on these occasions. Schools were represented by the pupil welfare team members who in the opinion of the careers teacher had an important part to play in planning. The project team was represented by the liaison officer and the project leader. The school situation of the individual pupil and aspects of future education and

employment were discussed on these occasions, and various suggestions and solutions were jointly evolved by the participants.

All of these contacts were then followed up in telephone contacts with both school and pupil. In a number of instances it was also possible for the school adviser to attend, which was an advantage especially during the introductory phase of planning. His knowledge and experience concerning the availability of special solutions came in useful in several cases.

During the past year, the liaison officers have kept in continuous touch with both school and pupils, so as to discuss and settle current issues. In some cases the school has suggested follow-up conferences together with the project team, while in other cases the initiative has come from parents or from the liaison officers.

Practically all the parents and young persons we met during our work on the project stated that in their belief, young persons with orthopedic handicaps encounter more substantial difficulties in the transition between school and employment.

Many of the young persons themselves expressed concern at the risk of not getting a job on completing their education. At a time when job opportunities are in short supply for all young persons, employment prospects for the handicapped are felt to be extremely limited.

The overwhelming majority of the parents felt that the experimental arrangement of a liaison officer had been useful to the youngsters.

In the course of the project, only 2 young persons chose to discontinue their contacts with the project team, their reason being that they felt themselves to be so slightly handicapped that they did not require any special support for the time being.

Most of the other young persons have spontaneously declared that contact with the project team meant a great deal to them in the process of planning their future education or employment.

Most of the young persons involved in the project have been more or less regularly in touch with rehabilitation units. Some of them have had dealings with other specialists, and many have received regular physiotherapy.

Routines for tranfer to rehabilitation clinics or long-term care vary somewhat from one hospital management district to another, but in all cases the rehabilitation units lose touch with young persons somewhere between the ages of 18 and 20.

The liaison officer has been a great help to the youngsters during this transitional phase. During the past year, the Halland County Council has launched an experimental scheme of adult rehabilitation, run by a team comprising occupational therapists, social workers and doctors.

During the build-up phase of this new scheme, the social worker on the team is collaborating with the former liaision officers.

In the course of the project, contact has been maintained with the regional rehabilitation advisers. Co-operation arrangements have varied somewhat between the three experimental areas. In the County of Halland, the adviser has

taken part in all visits to schools, and this participation has been of great benefit to the work of the project.

In the other areas, the rehabilitation adviser has arranged special in-service days for school staff who are to receive orthopedically handicapped pupils in their classes. Project personnel and rehabilitation staff have assisted on these occasions.

As the project has progressed, continuous reports have been transmitted between the rehabilitation advisers and the project team.

Co-operation between schools and the project team has run smoothly. Consultations have been held on one or more occasions concerning all the pupils involved in the project.

The arrangements for these consultations have varied, depending on local pupil welfare routines. On certain occasions the entire pupil welfare team has taken part, while on others only the SYO adviser and, where applicable, the class teacher have been involved.

The pupils preferred the latter arrangement. It has been easier for them to assert their views in a smaller group. Even if a pupil gets on well with everybody in the team, it can be rather daunting having to face ten adults single-handed.

Experience from the project has clearly shown that all planning for these young persons requires a great deal of time. The SYO advisers and careers teacher had to devote a great deal more time to these pupils than to others. The task of finding PRYO/PRAO opportunities requires both a knowledge of the potentialities and limitations of the

young persons concerned and time in which to plan PRYO so that it will run smoothly for the individual.

A large number of the young persons taking part broached the idea of extended PRYO when talking to the pupil welfare team, and in most cases this was actually arranged.

As the project proceeded, it became increasingly apparent that the PRYO/PRAO period was of the utmost importance to this category of young persons. Only a small number of them were able to acquire work experience by means of vocation employment.

All planning for the transition between compulsory and upper secondary schools takes a lot of time and requires extra inputs. A certain amount of handling time was involved in obtaining finance for adjustment measures and approval for the procurement of technical aids. Accordingly, we have tried to begin planning upper secondary studies for young persons involved in this project about one term earlier than we begin making similar plans for other pupils.

In many cases, informal discussions were held between the school and the admissions board and also together with the receiving school, so as to facilitate the transition.

In the case of pupils whose handicaps require extra measures, a "PRYO week" was often arranged at the receiving school so as to give the pupil and the receiving staff an opportunity of talking things over.

The increased responsibilities incurred by schools for young persons up to the age of 18 have clearly been of benefit to young persons with special needs. In one respect, however, this has been unfavourably interpreted. Some of the employment offices which we have had dealings with have taken these responsibilities to imply that they should not join in planning activities before the young persons concerned are 18.

In the course of the project, we have not come across any organised co-operation between schools and vocational rehabilitation where handicapped youngsters are concerned. Several of these young persons will in all probability be dependent on vocational rehabilitation resources later on.

According to the description of the project, these activities were expected to make young persons with orthopedic handicaps more prepared for independent living, employment and occupation. The liaison officer, together with the relevant parties, was to take the necessary steps to this end and assist teachers and others in devising means of overcoming problems connected with the integration of orthopedically handicapped pupils.

Most of the young persons now involved in the project are attending upper secondary school. Some have started work and others again will be embarking on upper secondary studies this autumn. Thus the portion of the project concerned with the transition between compulsory and upper secondary schools has been completed.

The reaction we have met from young persons and parents clearly shows that a liaison officer is needed. The experience gained in working together with schools, rehabilitation units and vocational rehabilitation has shown the model for this work included in the project plan to be viable.

SIVUS - A GROUP DYNAMIC METHOD FOR INDIVIDUAL DEVELOPMENT THROUGH CO-OPERATION

Basic principles

Like other people, the mentally retarded are:

- Persons who have various kinds of needs to be provided for, in order to survive and to develop (to live better).
- Persons who have their own needs, ranging from the primary (material) to the secondary (cultural).
- Persons who need to find a certain means, activity or work in order to achieve a certain goal that can satisfy their own need.
- Human beings who are developing through their own propelling force and activity.
- Persons who have both individual and social needs to be developed.
- Adequate fellow-beings (as subjects) to get on well with and to co-operate with.

In practical work with the mentally retarded it is quite important to support the development of every mentally retarded person's:

- Social ability - an ability to mix with, get on well with and co-operate with his fellow-beings.
- Planning ability - an ability to plan one's own work or any other activity, i.e. to work out a need to be

met and a way to find a means of achieving a goal to satisfy the need.

- Work ability - an ability to carry out one's own plan by endeavour and goal-concentrated behaviour.

- Evaluation ability - an ability to evaluate one's own result, to consider what one has done and to express one's feelings if one is glad, satisfied and to analyse why one feels that way. On this basis, new plans are made to achieve a better result.

The aim of provisions and services for the mentally retarded and other handicapped persons is to support the handicapped so that they can function as independently as possible, both individually and socially, in their integration in society.

In order to achieve this goal it is necessary for every handicapped person to develop his:

- independence
- self-confidence and
- feeling of solidarity.

The working method to be used is practical participation, in co-operation with his fellow-beings, in small, fixed and democratic groups functioning according to group-dynamic principles. It is in exactly this kind of group that the group members have opportunities of experiencing what it is like to function independently, both individually and socially at different levels, in order to achieve a certain goal that can satisfy their needs.

The needs and interests of every group member may vary a lot. They can apply to a single person, two people com-

bined, many people in a group, and many groups at the same place of work or in various places of work. Therefore it is necessary for every group member to experience what it is like to function independently both by oneself and together with one's fellow-beings in pairs, in groups and between groups, both within the area of amenities and services for the handicapped and in society. These different work-forms constitute the so-called five phases of development, namely:

- Individual phase - to function independently by oneself within the area of amenities and services for the handicapped.

- Paired phase - to function independently together with a friend within the area of amenities and services for the handicapped.

- Group phase - to function independently together with some friends in a group within the area of amenities and services for the handicapped.

- Inter-group phase - to function independently together with several groups within the area of amenities and services for the handicapped.

- Society phase - to function independently in society together with non-handicapped persons in various ways, i.e. by oneself, in pairs, in groups or between groups.

Referring to the degree of independence of every group member, in relation to support from the supervisor, every phase will include the following three stages:

- To notice how other people function or to accomplish something with considerable support (from the supervisor).

- To function with some support (from the supervisor).

- To function independently (without any support).

The staff members' role, according to this method, has to be both a leading-guiding and co-operative role, the exact opposite of the "taking-care-of" role. Accordingly:

- We emphasise first of all the mentally retarded individual's existing resources, abilities and possibilities and their further development, instead of his deficiencies, shortcomings and difficulties.

- Every person is given the support he needs for a real opportunity of trying to function independently, step by step.

Some practical principles which facilitate work with this method can be mentioned here. They include:

- Group activity which is based on both the individual member's own needs and interests and democratic principles.

- Consequently, every group member must be entitled to take part in the planning, execution and evaluation of his own work or activity. This is a right of self-determination and co-determination according to every member's ability. The work slogan "from one's own idea, through one's own work, to one's own result" has become a guiding principle in this case.

- The principles of small (3-8 participants) and fixed groups, with fixed participants, supervisors and principal activity.

- The right to become a member of several fixed groups, for example, working group, living group, leisure-time activity group and study group.

- Giving both individual and joint work (in pairs or by the whole group together) within the group.

- Having a fixed principal activity stemming from the group members' common interest and different complementary activities according to current needs within every group.

- The groups are formed according to common interest in the principal activity and may not be formed according to the degree retardation.

- Most of the groups are heterogeneous as regards the degree of retardation, the level of adaptive behaviour and of social maturity, other handicaps, sex, age etc. But at the same time, the group members are united by a common interest in the principal activity.

- The staff members' role is always active both as supervisors and as group members.

- Every staff member becomes, at the same time, a member of both an ordinary group (together with the mentally retarded persons) and a staff members' work-team which has to function according to the same principles as those for the ordinary groups.

Group dynamic (sivus) activity at occupational centres

The SIVUS project was begun during the spring term 1974 at two occupational centres for mentally retarded adult persons in Stockholm, namely Liljeholmsgården and Bredäng.

Liljeholmsgården then had 11 groups of about 60 mentally retarded adults, aged between 21 and 65, with 14.75 staff members.

Bredäng Occupational Centre then had 4 groups of about 30 mentally retarded adult persons, aged between 21 and 65, with 6 staff members.

Neither of these two occupational centres is connected with any residential home or special hospital. The majority of the participants, i.e. the mentally retarded, at these two occupational centres were then living with their own parents and the rest in different residential homes or group homes.

The Liljeholmsgården Occupational Centre was chosen as the institution to start the project, because a group there was already trying to work according to ideas similar to those of SIVUS. This was a group working with a colour and form subject (comprising all kinds of artistic work, e.g. painting, woodwork, working with clay, ceramics, printing and sewing) in 1973, under the leadership of photographer and supervisor Joy Benigh, which has since been developed into a woodwork group.

The Bredäng Occupational Centre was chosen as another institute in the same field, with the same conditions and in the same county, to begin freely applying the same ideas.

It was decided, at staff members' conferences at these two occupational centres, that 7 groups out of the then existing

15 groups were to start the experiment, i.e. 5 groups at Liljeholmsgården and 2 groups at Bredäng, beginning in the spring term 1974.

This new work experience had then induced all the other groups (8 groups) at the two occupational centres to voluntarily join the project, as from autumn 1975.

During 1977 and 1978 the work forms were developed and simplified and further systematised.

In 1978, Hallunda Occupational Centre in Stockholm, under the leadership of its new chief photographer Joy Benigh, became the third centre to test the SIVUS principles. This step was followed later on by other occupational centres in the County of Stockholm and, last but not least, by most centres in the 25 counties of Sweden, and also by several counties in Norway.

Under the leadership of psychologist Cecilia Malmström, the SIVUS method was introduced in five classes at five special schools for mentally retarded children in Stockholm, Göteborg and Katrineholm in Sweden (1978-81). Various steps were then taken to apply SIVUS in different fields within or outside the area of amenities and services for the mentally retarded. (See other chapters of this book.)

Today the SIVUS method is being applied at about 170 occupational centres in Sweden, some of which are autonomous while others are linked to particular residential homes or special hospitals.

Every occupational centre group has a fixed principal activity emanating primarily from the group members' common interests, needs and desires. In the second place, both the available resources and the outlook for these principal

activities in the society in which we live, must be taken into consideration.

The reason why every mentally retarded person needs, in order to feel secure, a principal activity, is quite simple. It is that just as every one of us needs a fixed and guaranteed job lasting for a relatively long period, so does every mentally retarded person.

Furthermore, each group member can, either together (in pairs, in the whole group or with any other group) or individually, have different complementary activities (or subject matters) according to current needs. These various types of subject matter are those which can contribute to the development or further development of the group members' abilities or the principal activity. Thus the subject matter has to be directly connected both to the group members' common interest in the principal activity and their personal interest in the complementary activities.

It is important to mention here that there can be other, more personal interests and needs which have nothing to do, directly or indirectly, with the group's principal activity. Such needs have to be provided for through another type of group, such as a leisure-time activity group. Otherwise, the occupational centre group, as a work group, will be scattered.

Here are some examples of the principal and complementary activities of occupational centre groups:

Principal Activities	Complementary Activities
o Woodwork	o Swedish
o Sewing	o Applied mathematics
o Weaving	o Creative drama
o Textile printing	o Music and/or dance
o Paper printing	o Gymnastics and/or rhythmics
o Leather-work	o Knowledge of materials the group is working with
o Making masks	o Housekeeping, comprising:
o Batik	cooking
o Packeting	hygiene training
o Painting	care of clothes
o Handicraft	o Civics
o Dismantling engines from scrapped cars	o The Provisions Act
o Re-using discarded materials	o Simple psychology
o Photography	o The social position of the mentally retarded
o Hairdressing	o English
o Pottery	o Social training (at the post office, bank, cinema etc.)
o Gardening	o Sign language, Hand talk, Gestural code, Bliss etc. training
o Dyeing of wool and cotton	o Sense training
o Packing/wrapping	o Swimming, taking a stroll etc.
o Other industrial work	o Relaxing, taking a rest
o Cultural/musical/theatre	Etc.
Etc.	

Every occupational centre group is formed according to common interest in the principle activity and may not be

formed according to the degree of retardation etc. In this connection, as has already been mentioned, it is necessary in the second instance to consider the objective conditions in every place where an occupational centre is situated, such as the available resources and the prospect of principal activities in future, in the society we live in.

Through successive conferences, within the staff members' group, and direct discussions with the mentally retarded, both individual and joint discussions, in pairs or in groups, we can then make a list of proposed principal activities, corresponding to the common interests of the mentally retarded and objective conditions.

After the mentally retarded have chosen each principal activity, the groups can be formed. The staff members each have to choose a group to lead and to work together with, naturally with the approval of the group members concerned.

This results in occupational centre groups with fixed group members, supervisors and a principal activity in every group.

The groups have to be small, depending on the concrete situations in every occupational centre and group. They vary between 5 and 8 participants for ordinary occupational centres, where most of the participants are mildly and moderately mentally retarded, or between 3 and 5 participants for occupational centres connected to a certain residential home or special hospital, where most of the participants are severely and profoundly mentally retarded.

Then every group can begin with general planning of the workplace where the group is going to work, what the group is going to begin with, the complementary activities the group is going to have during the first term, the weekly

schedule etc. The principle is that the work environment and amenities have to be created, reshaped and adapted to the needs to be provided for, and not vice versa.

But it is not easy to form the groups. There are often some members who find it difficult to choose one principal activity out of all the possible alternatives. This problem can be solved by giving the persons concerned a chance to try working for a certain period, e.g. two months for every alternative, so that they get concrete experience of working with all the existing activities. After that they can more easily choose which activity they like best.

Another difficulty can be that certain persons are equally interested in two or more activities. Then we have to form mixed activity groups, e.g. groups working with sewing every other week and with textile printing every other week.

Depending on the concrete situation within every group, a schedule for a week or for a day varies very much from group to group and from term to term.

An example of a weekly schedule for an occupatoinal centre group, e.g. a woodwork group, will be given below.

The principal activity, viz woodwork, has to be developed continuously, as far as the group wishes to do so and as far as the objective conditions, such as the available resources, permit. It functions more permanently as the main job of the group.

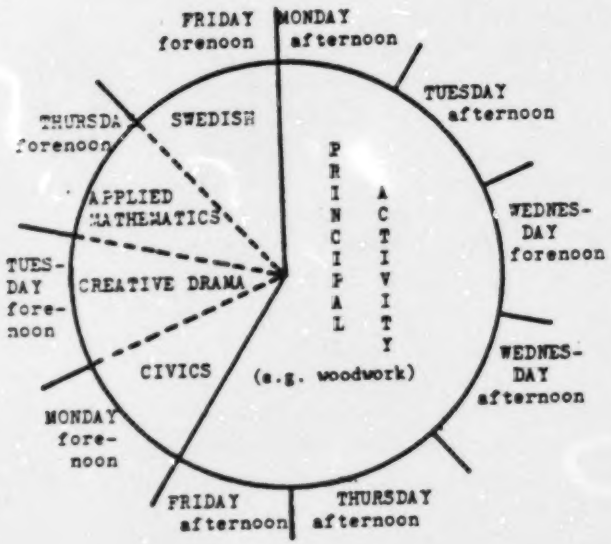
The complementary activities, e.g. Swedish, applied mathematics, creative drama and civics, can vary considerably from group to group and from term to term, depending on the concrete needs of the members of the group concerned. A subject, or some subjects, will be exchanged for another

subject for the next term or be finished altogether in order to begin with a totally new subject according to current needs.

Every group has to start the term with a general planning session on what the group and its members need for the coming term, on the subject matter to be learned etc.

The term has to end with a general evaluation of activities, followed by new general planning for the next term and so on.

The schedule can thus be described by the following figure:



Three days a week working with the principal activity, i.e. woodwork. Half a day per week each for Swedish, applied

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mathematics, creative drama and civics as the complementary activities.

Apart from a schedule for the whole group, schedules can be drawn up for individuals, or for every group member outlining plans for the week.

As mentioned above, each group member, according to his own ability, must have the right and opportunity to take part in the planning, execution and evaluation of his own work and activity. The work slogan "from one's own idea, through one's own work, to one's own result" has to be transformed into practical steps like those described above.

In keeping with this principle, the groups usually meet for a group discussion twice a day, in the morning for daily planning and in the afternoon to evaluate all activities, work and the results for that day.

A daily planning session in every group is important to make the daily programme clear and concrete, to discuss what the whole group and every group member are going to do, on that particular day, in connection with both their principal and complementary activities, based on their current needs, interests, desires, problems and the objective conditions.

It is important to discuss on this occasion how the plan is going to be carried out, who is going to do what, how, individually or in pairs or the whole group together, when things will be started and finished etc.

It is important to mention here that a daily planning session has to be simple and brief, about 10 or 15 minutes. Otherwise it will be tiring for the group. Remember planning is not a goal but only a means of simplifying problem solving!

Then carrying out the plan, from one item to the next.

A daily evaluation is needed in order to summarise all activities and the results during the day. Every group member ought to make a short report on his own work and results and to think them over. This can be done either orally or by simply showing the concrete things he has done or experienced during that time. Then the group can go on to discuss current problems, ideas for the next time and so on, to improve results. A diary or a tape recorder and a camera can be recommended for recording these important processes.

It is important to point out here that good social relations between the group members play a key role in improving co-operation both in planning, implementation and evaluation.

The daily schedule for an occupational centre group could be as follows:

8.00 a.m. : A daily planning conference for staff members.
8.30 a.m. : A daily planning discussion in every group.
9.00 a.m. : Work on either principal or complimentary activities.
10.00 a.m. : Forenoon coffee break in every group.
10.15 a.m. : Work (continued).
11.30 a.m. : Lunch break.
1.00 p.m. : Work (continued).
2.00 p.m. : Afternoon coffee break followed by daily evaluation. Work then ends with tidying up.

3.30 p.m. : Go home (the mentally retarded) while staff members have to stay until 4.00 p.m. for various meetings with parents, expert teams (psychologist, social workers, doctors, administrators etc.), visitors, or to discuss different subjects.

A model of integrated occupational centre groups

A model will be given below of integrated occupational centre groups in an occupational centre having about 30 mentally retarded persons, organised in six groups, of which four are integrated and two non-integrated groups.

According to the quality of integration of each group, these four integrated groups can be classified into two kinds, namely:

- Those groups which are functionally integrated, which involves utilising common arrangements and resources, e.g. those directly to do with the principal activity, such as a workshop, tools, conference hall, designs or other models, audio-visual aids, raw materials, a store, shop supervisor, customers, references etc.

  Alternatively, these common arrangements and resources may have nothing directly to do with the principal activity but rather be connected with complementary activities, such as kitchen, dining room, lavatory, showers, bathroom, sitting room, sports hall, swimming pool, theatre, cinema, park, garden, kiosk, shop, café, restaurant, bus and other transport, post office, bank, personal assistant, teacher, supervisor for complementary subject matter etc.

A functionally integrated group can be either an occupational-centre-based group, i.e. a group retains the occupational centre building as its base, or an external group, i.e. an occupatonal centre group which has moved from its base into the local community and has a new workplace of its own there or rents a workplace at some other workshop etc.

The work groups coming from the community to co-operate can be called community groups.

- Those groups which are socially integrated, i.e. pooling various arrangements and resources.

These common arrangements and resources can be directly concerned with the principal or complementary activity or with both, as mentioned before.

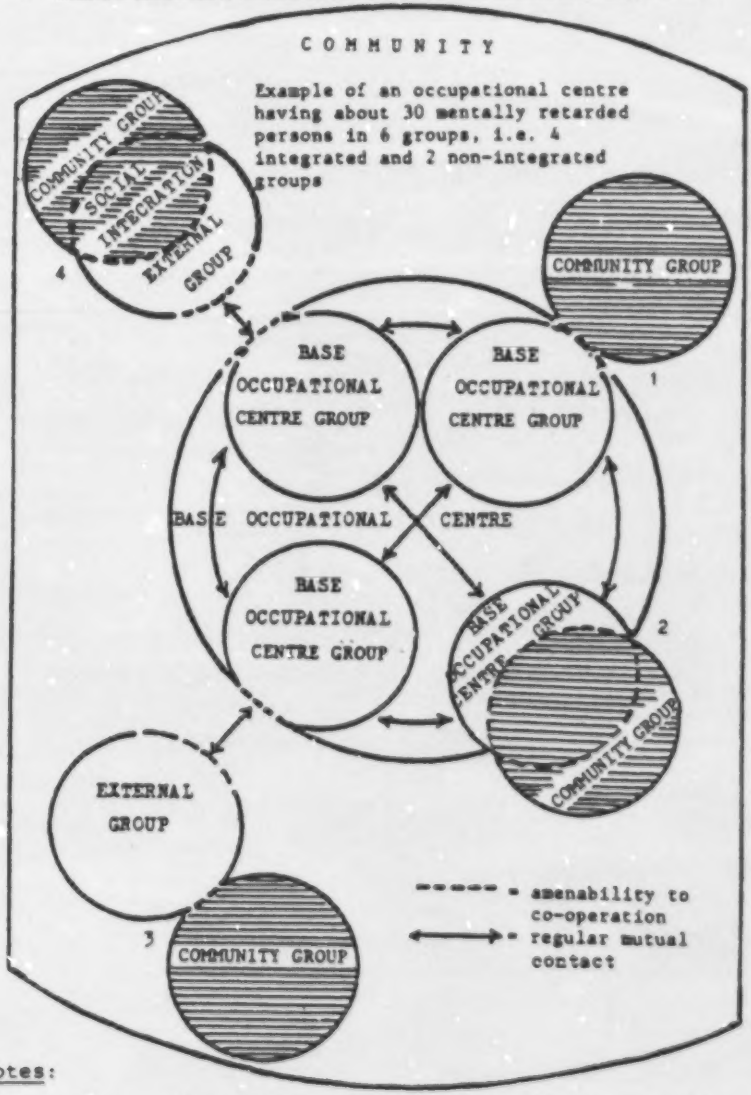
This co-operation is characterised by the following points:

> Social contacts between groups have developed so that both parties agree in their joint planning of the work, work together in carrying out the plan, with a certain distribution of the work between the groups and group members and in their joint evaluation of the result is followed by new planning and so on.

These socially integrated groups can be either base occupational centre groups or external groups, as mentioned before.

The model for integrated occupational centre groups can thus be illustrated by the following figure:

A model for integrated occupational centre groups



Notes:

1 = a functionally integrated occupational-centre-based group.
2 = a socially integrated occupational-centre-based group.
3 = a functionally integrated external group.
4 = a socially integrated external group.

In every group, whether an occupational-centre-based or external group, there are opportunities for every group member to leave the group for further integration and for

new group members to come in. The group functions in that way as a support, instrument and source of strength for the group members, leading to further integration and development.

Those groups which have become independent have developed their activity into small workshops, e.g. a woodwork room which produces toys or other things made of wood, a sewing workshop which manufactures clothes for children and adults, a textile printing workshop which produces curtains, printed textiles, printed decorations and so on, a weaving workshop which produces carpets, woven textiles etc., a leather workshop which manufactures handbags etc. of leather, a packing workshop which manufactures packagings etc.

These small workshops can begin to co-operate with each other, constituting an inter-group co-operative within the area of amenities and services for the mentally retarded, e.g. the sewing, textile-printing and weaving workshops merge to form one big workshop.

At the same time these independent groups can, either singly or jointly, begin to co-operate with one or more community groups. For example, an occupational centre woodwork room can co-operate with a toy shop in the community which sells their products with a reasonable contract that the mentally retarded persons themselves have taken part in planning or negotiating, with or without support from the supervisors. An occupational centre's packing workshop can co-operate with a corrugated paper firm in buying raw materials for manufacturing cardboard boxes, in importing machines from abroad etc. These activities constitute co-operation in the community in group or inter-group forms.

In the same way, either individually or in pairs, group members can begin to co-operate with persons or groups in the community, at different workshops for the non-retarded in order to find a non-sheltered job there. Then comes the time for them to leave the occupational centre, when they have got a job there, or at another workplace in the community at large.

EXAMPLES OF COMPUTERISED JOB PROCUREMENT

Introduction

The subheading of this report reads "Concerning the feasibility of a positive use of technology". We have tried to illustrate this positive use of technology by means of ten examples. In one case, however, the words "positive use of technology" should be put in quotation marks, because the problems which arose, due partly to computerisation, created difficulties of such magnitude that the employee was sick-listed for some considerable time. Otherwise the subheading was quite justified by events.

Our ten examples are by no means isolated phenomenon. Parallel to developments in the rest of society, computer techniques are coming to be used more and more often as a means of alleviating or eliminating handicaps at work.

In this connection, we refer to computerisation as an aid in two senses. Firstly, it can in itself generate new job opportunities, i.e. different types of data work can be suitable for people with functional impairments. Our report contains two examples of this kind, viz operators and programmers.

The second aspect concerns the various aids which are linked to a computer or whose most important component is, for example, a microcomputer. These aids facilitate or open up jobs which otherwise need not have anything to do with computers. Jobs of this kind referred to in the report are social work and editing.

As stated earlier, the ten workplaces in our report are not isolated phenomena. For example, Vikingen, a sheltered workshop in Stockholm, employs 15 orthopedically handicapped

persons in connection with data services of various kinds, data registration, the delivery of production tapes, writing out data address labels etc. About 50 visually handicapped employees make use of Braille tape recorders - computerised aids for registration, text processing and other purposes - as part of their jobs.

A number of folk high schools in Sweden, including Södra Vätterbygden Folk High School in Jönköping and Dalarö Folk High School in Stockholm, have started special computer education courses for persons with severe orthopedic handicaps.

These various kinds of training and workplaces are distinguished by the way in which they focus particularly on administrative data processing. Thus our examples include only one industrial workplace. All the various kinds of training are concerned with some form of administrative work.

Blind telephone operator

This operator has been working at the National Telecommunications Administration for the past two years and has completed the Administration's training course. Among other things, she was previously employed as switchboard operator.

Her task is to deal with inquiries concerning subscribers' telephone numbers. The Administration has computerised this work, which is now conducted via a VDU terminal connected to mainframes in Kalmar and Farsta. She can read the data coming up on the screen with the aid of a tactile display; what happens is that the text on the screen is transferred to Braille so that she can read it with her fingers. Certain data on the screen which are of minor importance for the job are not included in the tactile display.

This operator can work at the same speed as her sighted colleagues. The only difference between them is that she spends 8 hours at the terminal while the others work in two-hour spells.

The only occasions when her vision impairment constitutes a handicap in her work is when the computer breaks down and subscriber data have to be retrieved manually. This is quite impossible for somebody with gravely impaired vision.

In this instance computerisation has opened up a job which would previously have been out of the question for anybody with a visual handicap. Since the job involves retrieving data from a relatively small amount of text, the vision impairment is not in any way a handicap. And perhaps being able to work 8 hours at a stretch instead of in two-hour sessions can be termed a point in favour of somebody with a vision impairment.

Metal worker with severely defective vision

This man has been visually handicapped since childhood. At the beginning of the 1950s he attended a special lathe training course for the visually handicapped, after which he obtained work as a turret lathe operator. Today he works for a medium-sized company, where he has been in charge of an NC machine since 1978. NC lathes have fluorescent digital displays showing the various values which the operator needs to know. In collaboration with a technician, various aids were tested to enable a visually handicapped person to interpret this information. A tactile display, which presents figures in Braille instead of ordinary digits and can therefore be read off with the fingers, was therefore connected to the lathe. This tactile device presents measuring results to an accuracy of 1/100 mm. Acoustic signals are also used if dimensions begin to exceed the

permissable tolerances while machining is in progress. The tactile display, however, cannot show alphabetical characters, and so these have to be memorised. Good Braille technique is not necessary in order to read the instruments.

This man's working conditions do not differ appreciably from those of his sighted colleagues. He does much the same work as they do, and he does not take longer about it. His vision impairment does, however, prevent him from programming his machine, and problems also arise when other people alter the programming without telling him. Data concerning alterations are recorded in black type and filed.
The main problem concerns the fluids which have to be used during machining. The NC machine is much faster than other lathes and therefore requires new fluids. These fluids have given him eczema.

Since he has to read the instruments with his fingers, he is unable to use protective gloves. Because of his eczema he has now been sicklisted for some considerable time.

Various aids can thus be used to solve the problems of information encountered by a visually handicapped worker operating an NC machine, but work adjustment has not been a success because lathe computerisation has given rise to other problems.

This example shows how computerisation has initially confronted the visually handicapped worker with new problems. In other words, his handicap has been aggravated. One wonders whether the eczema problem could be solved by using another reading arrangement instead of tactile display, e.g. speech synthesis.

Mentally retarded girls at a special vocational school

No mentally retarded persons have yet come to be gainfully employed on tasks directly connected with computers, but one special vocational school has begun training a number of girls for terminal work. The girls are being taught to perform certain registration tasks using an ABC 80 computer. As part of their training they are helping a large association to maintain its membership register. Their mental retardation does not require any specific aids, but one of the girls also has a severe orthopedic handicap and operates the terminal using a stick secured to her forehead.

The job involves entering data from written notes concerning members of the association. If the association then wishes to have the names and addresses of all members belonging to a particular section, the girls themselves can retrieve these data.

The girls will soon be leaving special vocational school, and the plan is for a day centre to purchase an ABC 80 and offer its services to associations requiring assistance in updating their membership registers.

In this way it has been shown that computers need not exclude mentally retarded persons from working life. Computer technology has actually improved the employment prospects of one girl. Terminal work naturally demands an ability to read the data on the screen and in documentary form, and employers have to be prepared for lower productivity.

Terminal operators with severe orthopedic handicaps

These persons have been employed as operators since 1981. Handicaps affecting their arms make it very difficult for

them to operate ordinary keyboards, and a speech registration machine was tested as a means of improving their work capacity. Basically this involves substituting a speech recording machine for the traditional keyboard. Only minor adjustments had to be made to the computer. Speech recording makes it possible for the operators to address the computer directly, and if necessary they can also obtain answers on the display screen.

Before the speech recording machine could be used, the operators had to record the relevant vocabulary for identification and storage. Interchangeable cassettes make it possible for the vocabulary to be extended almost indefinitely. The maximum speech velocity for this machine is 180 words per minute. Both operators work at a speed of some 4,000 strokes an hour. Their duties mainly involve registration.

Computerisation has opened up completely new job opportunities for these two employees. Without it they would hardly have been capable of performing the various administrative duties involved.

Visually handicapped social worker

This man sustained his visual handicap in adult years and graduated subsequently from a school of social work and public administration. Immediately after graduating he began working at a social advisory bureau, and he is now working at a county administration, where he specialises in social affairs.

Keeping track of all the information needed for his work used to be a time-consuming process. The data were recorded on a cassette by a work assistant. To keep all the cassettes in order, he compiled a loose-leaf index. Sometimes

it could take him almost two hours to find the information he was looking for.

Just over 2 years ago he acquired a new aid for the visually handicapped, known as Braillex. This is a computerised aid for the visually handicapped and he uses it for both register maintenance and text processing. Both Braille and recorded material can be stored on the cassette. The Braille is read off from a display.

It was primarily the prospect of rapid information retrieval which induced him to adopt this aid, and the procedure is as follows.

On one cassette he has a search index. The search words he has fed into the cassette where the information is kept are then stored in the index cassette. The search words are stored in Braille.

Using a Braillex he can find the information he requires in eight minutes or less.

He now gets through more work than he used to and he does it more efficiently. Previously he felt that there was not enough time to do everything he wanted to. He had to define his priorities very strictly, and he often felt so frustrated that without the Braillex he would presumably have tendered his resignation.

A typewriter has been connected to the aid so as to facilitate communication with sighted persons. In this way a text can be called up in Braille and typescript simultaneously. He uses this system, for example, when writing letters, memoranda etc.

He still experiences differences compared with his sighted colleagues; being visually handicapped, he is more frequently forced to do things in order of priority. But these differences are now negligible.

The computer gave the visually handicapped social worker a completely new opportunity of coping with his job, and he is convinced that it saved him from giving up.

Orthopedically handicapped terminal operator

This man used to have a very mobile job, but he had to give it up after contracting multiple sclerosis. He then went through a host of different jobs at the same workplace.

His condition gradually deteriorated, however, and after his latest spell in hospital he came into contact with rehabilitation staff who had been informed about the possibilities of using computers as an aid for the severely disabled. After collaborating with a technician last year, he was given the opportunity of trying computer work. Otherwise he had had no previous instruction on the subject.

The computer he uses is an ABC 80 and the special peripheral equipment is called DESK 80. What happens is that he operates, with his mouth, a pointer secured to a joystick. He can move the joystick in all directions, and in this way steer a cursor on the screen. The screen also displays letters and digits. In this way he is able to direct the pointer, in the appropriate order, towards the letters he wishes to write. The result is displayed all the time at the bottom of the screen, and in this way he can check whether a word is correctly spelled.

When the words have been spelled correctly and the job is finished, he can print out what he has written.

He is now employed by a municipal authority and his main duties involve entering service log books in the computer, though in some cases he also does other jobs for the municipality. He works half time and is fully occupied.

His equipment has been financed in the usual way by means of AMS grants, but he received very good support from his municipality, which purchased the equipment and was paid retroactively by the county employment board.

He has been able to step up his working pace all the time and feels himself that he can now write almost as rapidly as somebody using an ordinary keyboard. He does not find his work particularly exacting.

Without the computer, he would not be able to cope with his present job, and he says that he finds his duties very stimulating.

Orthopedically handicapped editor

He is 32 years old and has a compulsory school leaving certificate but no other qualifications. He has been severely disabled from childhood and can only move a few fingers. Nowadays he also has to use a respirator. Most of his work is done on a voluntary basis, since he edits a non-profit journal, but he also writes articles for purely commercial publications. He works at home, but he does not regard this as an ideal solution. He would prefer to work away from home, so as to come into contact with colleagues.

He has had his editing job for some years now. The first aid he acquired was a remote-controlled electric typewriter. That was in 1970. By the standards of that time, no doubt, it was an advanced aid, but the equipment he uses today makes it look quite old-fashioned. In 1982 he acquired

completely new working aids which he himself had evolved in collaboration with a technician.

The equipment is based on an ABC 80 computer, modified for remote control. The print function comprises two keys which operate as micro switches. A special alphabet based on a complicated British arrangement called the Possum System has been designed for the purpose.

The computer is mainly used for word and text processing and registration. His maximum writing speed is about 6,000 words per hour, but his "cruising speed" is somewhat lower. Without the computer he could not possibly cope with his present duties.

Terminal operators with severely impaired hearing

These two women with severely impaired hearing are employed on data registration at a national government institution. One of them started there in the summer of 1975. After a time she began to feel lonely. She then asked for a deaf colleague to be hired, and this was arranged at the beginning of 1976. The two women have both completed their compulsory schooling. They had not had any previous work experience before joining the national government institution.

The terminals have been modified so that the women can observe errors. Normally errors are indicated by an acoustic signal, but a lamp now comes on instead.

Their productivity does not differ from that of colleagues with normal hearing, but presumably they would not have been considered for the job if it had not been for computerisation. The institution does not have much demand for

other secretarial duties they are capable of performing, e.g. typing from rough copy.

Severely disabled punch operator

He has been working as a punch operator at a national government institution since 1977. He is severely disabled and can only write with one hand. He has completed his compulsory schooling and had had no previous work experience before joining the institution.

Computerisation has greatly improved his employment prospects, because a VDU terminal is easier for him to use than a typewriter. The employer would not have taken him on if the workplace had not been computerised.

He has a work assistant and has been issued with a technical aid in the form of a page turner.

Owing to his orthopedic handicap, he cannot attain the same pace of work as his colleagues. He works full time and his productivity is somewhat below that of a half-time appointment.

Office worker with severe orthopedic handicap and speech defect

On completing her upper secondary schooling, she started a temporary job involving various office duties. She is confined to a wheelchair and also has great difficulty in controlling her hands, which are subject to numerous involuntary movements. Her speech is very hard to understand and she often has to use an alphabet chart when talking to people around her. Following this employment she has started a special computer science course for the orthopedically handicapped.

Her duties involved typing Swedish and English correspondence and, to a certain extent, managing a computerised register.

The computer she used for typing correspondence was an ABC 80 with a DESK 80 printer unit. She operated the computer by means of a joystick. For the correspondence she had a special program for letter layouts. This special program enabled her to use digital codes for writing various standard phrases and suchlike, thus saving her the trouble of writing every single character.

Her speech defect makes it impossible for her to carry on a telephone conversation without help. The possibility of using speech synthesis to help her in this connection was therefore tested at her place of employment. The procedure was as follows. A speech synthesis device was connected to the DESK 80 printer system and an ordinary telephone with a loudspeaker unit was used. Using the computer display screen, she selected the letters of the alphabet required for her message, and the message was then conveyed by the speech synthesiser to her interlocutor.

There were of course some tasks which she performed more slowly than a person without her disability, but even a telephone conversation, for example, was perfectly feasible.

She would not have been able to do her job if it had not been for computer techniques.

Comments by employers and fellow-employees

The above examples are based on interviews with the handicapped employees concerned, concerning the way in which they experienced their computer aids and the changes which those aids have brought about in their work situation. To com-

plete the picture, we asked fellow employees and employers for their views on these initiatives.

The employers and fellow employees we spoke to said that in their opinion work proceeded efficiently and the functional impairment had not presented any great problem. Certain problems, it is true, had arisen from time to time, owing to lack of previous experience at the individual workplace concerning employees with functional impairments, but these problems were quite easily overcome.

In some cases the functional impairment prevented the employee from equalling the performance of his colleagues, but nobody regarded this as a problem. One management representative, however, said that it would be difficult in future to employ a person with perhaps only a quarter of the normal work capacity if there were no wage subsidies forthcoming.

It also transpired that duties were deliberately delimited so as to make things easier. This also made it possible to offset the reduced work capacity, sometimes completely.

One surprising fact which emerged was the poor state of knowledge concerning the grants available for various purposes. One employer did not believe that it was possible to obtain more than one grant towards technical aids, and not everybody knew that grants were obtainable for work assistants, even though at least one person felt that assistants were needed.

Another striking fact was that the interviewees knew hardly anything about other workplaces where similar arrangements had been tested, and they seldom knew where to turn for information about different technical aids.

An agency capable of supplying knowledge and information was called for.

Conclusion

We have now given some examples of jobs which would have been more difficult or indeed impossible without the aid of computers. Our selection is not a representative sample, but we still venture to say that our examples are quite typical. They show that there is hardly any functional impairment which cannot be made good by means of computer techniques. Of course, some handicapped employees never attain the same capacity as their colleagues, but this is not the most important point. The main thing is that the handicapped individual can cope with a job or that the job is made easier and that independence is increased accordingly.

Summing up, our examples provide evidence of:

- Improved job opportunities.
- Improved productivity.
- Improved job satisfaction and greater independence.
- Initial problems sometimes connected with the introduction of computer techniques, and the possiblity of solving those problems by means of special adjustment measures.

Appendix A

LIST OF INNOVATIVE PRACTICES

In this appendix arrangements are listed which have been mentioned in the report, but not described in detail, and which might be of interest as "innovative practices".

The work of SSA councils

These are committees for co-operation between schools and the employment sector (see pp. 56-57). Their work in regard to the handicapped has so far not been documented. At least in some municipalities, however, problems of the handicapped are said to be given high priority.

Youth teams

These are rather new in origin (see pp. 58-59). Experiences have so far not been evaluated. They could be of high relevance for handicapped youngsters, not least the mentally retarded.

Regional consultants at the county employment boards

At the county employment boards there are special consultants to help deaf/hard of hearing persons and visually impaired to find jobs (see p.62). This type of special resource within the "regular" organisation are said to work well, but more detailed documentation is missing.

Integrated day centre activities

Some day centres for the mentally retarded (pp.107 - 120) have been very successful in finding places for groups of retarded persons in regular industries. Often this is done through local initiatives, and not always in compliance with the rules of the bureaucratic system.

The work of vocational guidance officers in special schools

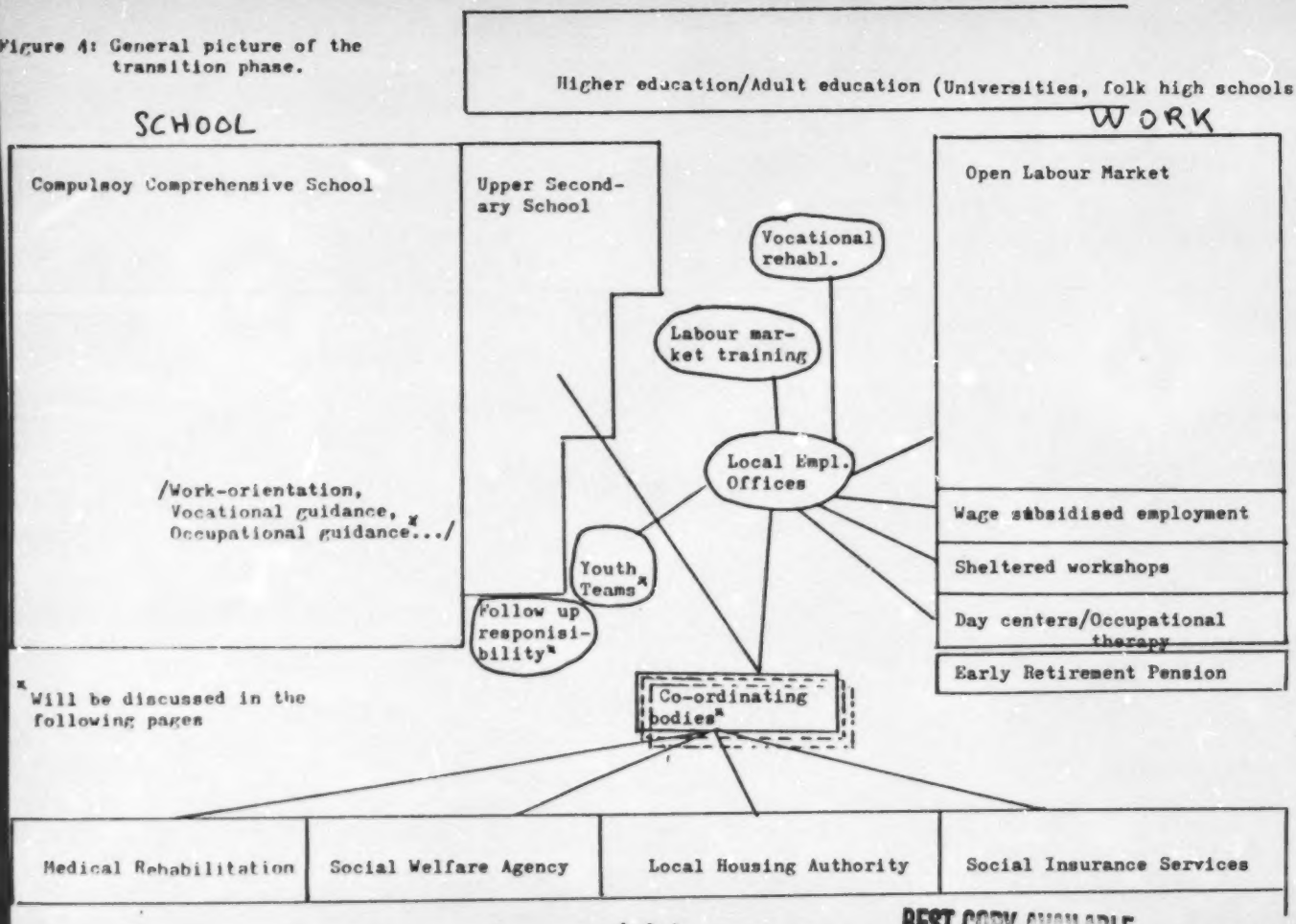
As mentioned in p. 66, SYO officers in special schools for the mentally retarded and for the deaf/hard of hearing put much more emphasis on practical experience for the pupil than their colleagues in ordinary schools. They are also used to working closer and very flexibly with employers and the surrounding labour market. Something of general importance for the transition of handicapped might be learned from their experience.

Organising work experience during school holidays

In some municipalities special arrangements have been made to provide jobs for handicapped pupils during school holi-

days. The experiences reported are mainly positive for the handicapped with a frequently disregarded opportunity of practical work experience.

Figure 4: General picture of the transition phase.



* Will be discussed in the following pages

Appendix B

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